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HISTORY OF GREECE.



Authorized Text-Book Series

A

HISTORY OF GREECE

FOR

JUNIOR CLASSES.

BY

LEONHARD SCHMITZ, LL. D.

CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

GIVING A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST
TO THE PRESENT DAY,

BY A GENNADOIS.

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS.

Canadian Copyright Edition.

TORONTO:

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P R E F A C E.

THE History of Greece here offered to the public is intended as an introduction to the excellent larger works which are the pride of English scholarship.

I have introduced a novelty which will be justified, I hope, by the more correct views now entertained in regard to the two great nations of antiquity. In all the school histories of Greece hitherto published, the Greek divinities are called by the names given to them by the Romans. This practice has led to an utter confusion of the religions of the two nations, which, in many respects, were totally different. The Romans may indeed be excused for identifying their gods with those of Greece and other nations, but I can see no reason why we should follow their example. I have, therefore, called the Greek gods by their Greek names; and wherever the Roman name presents any material difference, I have added it in brackets. The same system has been followed in regard to other proper names: as the Greek language has no *c*, the Greek letter *k* has been retained; and instead of the Latin termination *us*, I have given the Greek *os*. It would, however, be mere pedantry rigorously to apply the same rule to all proper names, for in the case of some the Roman form, either in its entirety

or in an abridged shape, has almost become a part of the English language itself. The same system, I am glad to find, has been adopted in some of the larger recent Histories of Greece.

A brief sketch has been added, to continue the history of Greece from its conquest by the Romans, in B.C. 146, to the accession of King George in 1862. This addition seemed almost necessary, as the Greek nation, though conquered and subdued by foreigners, has always continued to exist, and still exists, speaking essentially the same language as their forefathers, 2000 years ago. Their history during that long period of subjugation is very instructive in more ways than one; for they never ceased to struggle for the recovery of their freedom, until in the end they gained the rewards of their unceasing and patriotic exertions and sacrifices. If the nation at present seems in some respects to have degenerated, we ought not on that account to withhold from it our sympathies and admiration, for such must always be the result if a people has for a long period been subjected to a cruel and tyrannical rule like that of the Turks. But time, a wise government, and the enjoyment of liberty, will, it is hoped, ere long raise the gifted people of Greece to a position worthy of their illustrious ancestors, to whom all civilised nations are more deeply indebted than to any other.

L. S.

LONDON, *August*, 1874.

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GIVING A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM B.C. 146 TO THE ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE, 1862.

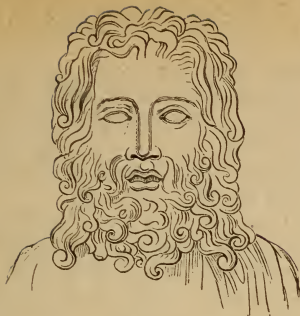
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HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS

HISTORY OF GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first people we meet with at the very threshold of European history are the Greeks, or, as they called themselves, Hellenes, occupying the south-eastern peninsula of our Continent. At the time when they first appear in history, they were not yet known by any name common to them all, each tribe having its own special name; and it was not till between 800 and 700 years B.C. that the name Hellenes was applied to the whole nation, extending from the Cambunian mountains in the north to the southern extremity, and over the adjacent islands. In the earliest times the greater part of the country was inhabited by a race called the *Pelasgians*, of whom a great deal has been written, but very little is known. It is certain, however, that they were not materially different from the Hellenes, and belonged to the same race as they, for in the course of time, and without any wars or violent commotions, we find them united with the Hellenes into one nation, speaking everywhere essentially the same language, and entertaining essentially the same views about

their gods. The differences in this respect appearing in the different parts of the country, so far as the language is concerned, were only of a dialectical nature; and in like manner, though some of their gods were worshipped in one district more particularly than in others, yet all were recognised in all parts of the country.

This nation of the Hellenes is one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, among the civilised peoples of the earth, and has exercised both on contemporary nations and upon posterity an influence which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate. They were endowed by nature with the rarest qualities both of mind and body; their minds were ever active and striving to improve upon what they had already attained; they attempted to solve the loftiest problems in religion, philosophy, art, and literature; they never rested satisfied with what they had achieved, but were ever eager to advance and improve. Nothing was stationary with them, and although they disdained everything that was foreign, which they called barbarous, yet they never scrupled to adopt whatever they found useful or beneficial among the barbarians, and so to assimilate it as to give it the stamp of their own character and genius. They did not, indeed, always succeed in their lofty aspirations after perfection, for in their religion they did not arrive at the idea of one God as the creator and preserver of the universe; in their philosophy they at once boldly grappled with the highest problems, which even yet are awaiting their solution; and in their love of freedom they passed through all the constitutional changes from royalty to a wild and unbridled democracy, until their political life was extinguished by the overwhelming power of Rome. But in the arts and literature, they attained an eminence which has never been surpassed and hardly equalled. The Greeks, therefore, are a noble example of what human ingenuity and perseverance can accomplish, and that, too, at a period when the best part of the human race may be said to have been still in its infancy. They have, moreover, developed a language which, by its beauty, subtlety, and flexi-

bility, is capable of expressing the most delicate shades of human thought, and still commands universal admiration.

We naturally ask, Who were these Hellenes? When and whence did they come into Europe? Their own belief in later times was that they had sprung from the soil on which they lived; nay, some of them maintained that they were older than the moon—so completely had they forgotten their origin and their past history. But their language and their religious ideas incontrovertibly show that they were a branch of the great Aryan family of nations, which also includes the Hindoos, Persians, Armenians, Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Kelts. The Greek language, not only in its roots, but even in its inflections, bears a more or less close resemblance to the languages of the nations just enumerated, and thus proves that they are all descended from one common stock. All circumstances confirm the now universal belief that they immigrated into Europe from Asia, and descended into the peninsula of Greece from the north. When this immigration took place it is impossible to ascertain; but if we may venture a guess, it would seem that the time of their arrival in Europe may be fixed at about 2000 years before the Christian era.

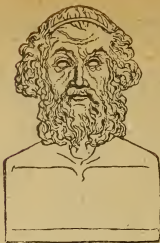
The nearest kinsmen of the Hellenes were the inhabitants of the greater part of Italy—that is, those Italians who spoke Latin, or a dialect of Latin, for the resemblance between the Latin and the Greek languages is so great and so striking that we are forced to suppose that the nations speaking them formed at one time only one people which afterwards broke up into two branches, one occupying the peninsula of Greece, and the other that of Italy; and in each country they again became divided into a number of tribes speaking different dialects. The country occupied by the Hellenes, Hellas or Greece, is very small, and on the whole, mountainous, but it contains some very fertile plains. It has scarcely any navigable river, but to compensate for this, the country abounds in excellent bays and harbours, facilitating the intercourse with the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. When they

started from their original home, which must have been somewhere about the north-west of India, they, of course, took with them not only their language and religion, but all those elements of civilisation which had already been attained in their ancient common home. What that civilisation was, is revealed to us by a comparison of the kindred languages, and this comparison altogether dispels the idea entertained by ancient and some modern historians, that the Greeks on their first appearance in Europe were savages, living in caves, feeding upon acorns, and devoid of any knowledge of agriculture or the breeding of cattle. A great variety of words expressive of a state of things far above that of the savage are common to the Greeks and their kinsmen who remained in their Asiatic home, a clear proof that a considerable degree of civilisation had already been attained before the Greeks separated and entered upon their westward migration.

There was a time when it was believed that the Hellenes had received their civilisation from foreign immigrants. Thus Kekrops was believed to have come from Egypt and to have built the Kekropia, the akropolis or citadel of Athens; Kadmos, a Phœnician prince who set out in search of his sister who had been carried off, was supposed to have arrived in Bœotia, and to have founded there the Kadmeia, the akropolis of Thebes; Danaos, with his fifty daughters, was believed to have taken refuge in Hellas to escape from the vengeance of his brother Ægyptos, and to have given the name of Danai to a portion of the Hellenic people; and Pelops, lastly, a son of Tantalos, was said to have come from Phrygia or Lydia in Asia Minor, to have taken possession of a part of the southern peninsula of Hellas, and to have given it its name of Peloponnesus, that is, the island of Pelops. But most of these stories can be shown to have originated in Hellas itself, and some of them seem to have owed their currency either to the vanity of foreign nations, such as the Egyptians, who claimed a share in the civilisation of the Hellenes; or, as in the case of Pelops, the story may have originated in

some vague and dim recollection of an ancient connection between Hellas and Asia Minor. The legend about Kadmos alone seems to have been founded upon something more substantial; for it is well attested that at a very early period, Phœnicians visited the islands and coasts of Hellas both as traders and as pirates, and tradition is unanimous in stating that the art of writing was introduced into Hellas by Phœnicians. It would indeed be absurd to suppose that the Hellenes were not influenced at all by the nations round about them, for no nation can remain completely isolated without injury to itself; but whatever ideas or institutions either individual immigrants or bodies of immigrants may have brought into Hellas, they were so completely altered and assimilated by the genius of the Hellenes, that in the course of time every trace of their foreign origin disappeared. The language of the Hellenes itself contains no trace of Egyptian or any other foreign influence; their religion is essentially that of their Aryan kinsmen, only modified and altered by their own imagination, when the real significance of their gods and their attributes had been forgotten. The arts of the Hellenes can be traced in their own country from the rudest beginnings to their highest development; and in their political and social institutions there is nothing that might point to an Egyptian or other Semitic origin—they form, in fact, the strongest contrast to the political and social institutions of the Semitic race. In short, the whole civilisation of the Hellenes bears the unmistakable mark of its having originated and developed with the people itself.





HOMER.

CHAPTER I.

THE MYTHICAL OR LEGENDARY PERIOD.

THIS period, during which the gods were supposed to have descended among men, and personally to have taken an active part in their affairs, extends from the remotest times to about B.C. 1100. All that the Greeks themselves knew about that period, had been handed down by oral tradition, and had been so much altered and embellished by the poetical genius of the nation and by the poets of later times, that in most cases it is impossible to say what may have been the real groundwork of those ancient stories. But as they are not only constantly alluded to by the Greek and Latin writers, and, in fact, form the foundations of most of their poetical productions, but are also much interwoven with the poetry of modern nations, it will be necessary to give at least brief outlines of the most important of the early legends.

First in importance are the legends of *Herakles* (*Hercules*). Danaos, the supposed immigrant from Egypt, had a granddaughter Danaë, who became by Zeus (*Jupiter*), the greatest among the Hellenic gods, the mother of Perseus, and from him was descended Herakles, a son of Zeus by Alkmena, a granddaughter of Perseus. Herakles is the greatest and most famous of all the mythical heroes of Hellas: he was believed to have been a man of gigantic strength, and the most wonderful exploits are ascribed to him. The number of these extraordinary feats is twelve,

but it seems clear that the Greeks ascribed to their great hero what can never have been the works of one man, even though he were a giant, but must have been the results of the labours of whole generations of men arriving in an uninhabited country, and having to contend with all manner of difficulties. Thus he is said to have cleft rocks, to have turned the courses of rivers, to have opened subterraneous outlets of lakes, and to have cleared the country of wild and noxious beasts. He is also represented as the protector of the weak and helpless, as the chastiser of cruel tyrants, and as having traversed many foreign lands, where he achieved equally wonderful feats. The imagination of the Greeks raised him to the rank of a god, to whom temples were erected and sacrifices offered. In works of art he is represented as a strong muscular man, armed with a club and carrying a lion's skin.

Another great hero, who may be regarded as the Herakles of Attika, is *Theseus*, a son of *Ægeus* and *Æthra*, a daughter of the King of Troezen. The Athenians looked upon him as an ancient king who had united the various towns of Attika into one state, and laid the foundation of its political constitution. He was believed to have freed the country from daring and cruel robbers, and thereby to have rendered the road over the isthmus of Korinth safe for travellers, to have slain giants and destructive animals. But the feat for which he was most famous was the manner in which he delivered Athens from a tribute which had to be paid to Minos, a mighty king of Krete. This tribute consisted of a number of young men and maidens, who were sent annually to Krete, there to be devoured by a monster called the Minotaur, who lived in a labyrinthine cave. When the time came for sending out these victims, young Theseus himself desired to be one of them. On his arrival in Krete he won the love of Ariadne, the king's daughter, who furnished him with a thread by means of which, after slaying the Minotaur, he found his way out of the labyrinth. Having thus freed Athens for ever from the cruel tribute, he left the

island with Ariadne, whom, however, he abandoned in the isle of Naxos, not venturing to take a stranger home as his wife. His father, who was anxiously watching for his return, was led by the black sail when the ship came in sight, to the belief, that his son had perished, and in despair, threw himself into the sea, which was hence called the *Ægæan Sea*. Theseus now succeeded his father as king of Athens, and in commemoration of the union of the whole country under one government, established the festival of the *Panathenæa*. His memory was preserved by a temple called the *Theseum*, which the Athenians erected in his honour.

Minos, who is said to have possessed the most powerful navy at the time, is, like Theseus, described as a wise political legislator, though the laws and institutions of which he is said to have been the author, can be shown to have been introduced into *Krete* at a much later time by the Dorians, when they colonised the island.

We might further mention the story of the *Kalydonian* hunt—the chief hero of which is *Meleagros*, who succeeded in killing a ferocious boar which devastated the country round *Kalydon*—and a number of other interesting legends, but we must confine ourselves to giving an outline of three, which are the most important and most interesting during the mythical period.

The Expedition of the Argonauts.—*Jason*, it is said, was the rightful heir of the kingdom of *Iolkos* in *Thessaly*, but *Pelias*, who had usurped the throne, was in perpetual fear of Jason, it having been intimated by an oracle that a descendant of *Æolos*—an ancestor of Jason—would succeed to the throne. *Pelias*, therefore, induced the young prince to undertake some perilous adventure in the hope that he would perish in it. Accompanied by many other heroes, he sailed in a large ship, called the *Argo* (hence the name of the *Argonauts*), to *Kolchis*, on the east coast of the *Black Sea*, to fetch the golden fleece which was kept there in a grove of *Ares* (*Mars*). After many adventures the party reached *Kolchis*, and here many more difficulties had to be overcome. But *Medeia*, the daughter

of Æetes, the king of Kolchis, who conceived a passion for Jason, and was skilled in all manner of sorcery, assisted Jason, and the feat was successfully accomplished. Jason then returned, taking Medeia with him as his wife, and in order to detain her father who was pursuing her, Medeia killed her young brother Absyrtos, and dismembering his body, scattered the parts on her road, by the collecting of which her father's pursuit was checked. The adventures of the heroes on their return were as many and as dangerous as had been those on their way out. On Jason's arrival at Iolkos, Pelias still persisted in refusing the kingdom to his rival, but he was murdered, and Jason became king of Iolkos. Some years later, though he had two children by Medeia, Jason fell in love with Kreüsa, daughter of the King of Korinth. Medeia, stung with jealousy, had recourse to her arts of sorcery, and caused the death of her rival by steeping her garment in a poison which consumed her body; she then murdered her own two children, and disappeared in a chariot drawn by winged dragons.

This story implies that the Greeks even in those early times undertook voyages to distant lands. It is quite evident that the story, as it is related, cannot be believed, but it is impossible to say what historical event may have given rise to it, and we must take it as it stands, as a proof of what the childlike imagination of the Greeks could be made to believe.

The Royal House of Thebes.—Labdakos, a king of Thebes, was succeeded by his son Laios, who married Jokasta, and by her became the father of *Ædipus*. Laios being informed by an oracle that this son would cause his death, exposed the infant in a forest on Mount Kithæron, expecting that he would be killed by wild beasts. But the child was found by a shepherd, who took it to Polybos, king of Korinth, and as the king's wife was childless, the cast-away was brought up as his own son. When he grew up to manhood he naturally became anxious to know his true parentage, and proceeded to the oracle at Delphi. There he was told that he would cause his father's death,

and in order to avoid the possibility of such a misfortune, he resolved not to return to Korinth, thinking that possibly Polybos might after all be his father. During his wanderings he met his father Laios in a narrow defile. A quarrel arose between the attendants of the two travellers, and in the ensuing fight Laios was slain by Œdipus, who, unaware of the nature of his crime, proceeded to Thebes. That city happened to be in great distress, on account of a monster, called the Sphinx, half lion and half woman, who proposed a riddle to all persons passing by the rock in which she lived, and every one who was unable to solve the riddle, was hurled from the rock and killed. Œdipus succeeded in solving the riddle, and the Sphinx then cast herself from the rock. The widowed queen Jokasta had made it known that, whoever freed Thebes from the monster should have her hand and share her throne. Œdipus accordingly, without knowing it, married his own mother, and became by her the father of two sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, and two daughters, Antigone and Ismene.

During the period of this unfortunate marriage, Thebes was visited by all sorts of calamities, of which no one knew the cause, until an oracle revealed all the horrible facts. Jokasta in despair put an end to her life, and Œdipus having put out his eyes, wandered about as a wretched exile, accompanied only by his affectionate daughter Antigone, and died on the hill of Kolonos in Attika. His two sons succeeded him on the throne, but soon fell out with each other. Each secured allies, and a war ensued called the war of the *Seven against Thebes*. The city was besieged, and the war lasted for a long time, until in a final hand-to-hand struggle Eteokles and Polyneikes pierced each other through the body. Their descendants (the *Epigoni*) also carried on a war against Thebes to avenge their fathers, and the city of Thebes was destroyed.

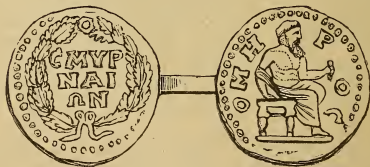
The Trojan War is the most famous of all the enterprises of the heroic age, and this fame it owes to the immortal epic of the *Iliad* which goes by the name of

Homer, and is the only one of the many epic poems which celebrated the exploits of the heroes of Troy, that has come down to our time. The story of the Trojan war is briefly this. During a contest for beauty among the three goddesses—Hera (Juno), Athena (Minerva), and Aphrodite (Venus), Paris, a son of Priam, king of Troy, was chosen to decide the dispute. He assigned the prize to Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, who in return promised him the most beautiful wife. Helen, a daughter of Zeus and Leda, was of such passing beauty that all the Greek princes were suitors for her hand. Helen preferred Menelaos, king of Sparta, and her foster-father made all the Greek princes pledge themselves to assist and support Menelaos, if ever he should get into trouble about his wife. On one occasion Paris visited Sparta, and, aided by Aphrodite, he not only won the love of Helen, but with a gross violation of the laws of hospitality, carried her off, together with many treasures. The Trojans when summoned to send her back refused, and all the Greek chiefs, faithful to their promise, now undertook to avenge the wrong done to Menelaos; and, united under the supreme command of Agamemnon, the brother of Menelaos and king of Mykenæ, they undertook a great expedition against Troy, sailing from the port of Aulis in about 1200 ships. Although Agamemnon had the supreme command, another Greek hero, Achilles, a son of the goddess Thetis, surpassed him and all the other Greek chiefs in courage and valour. The principal hero among the Trojans was Hector, a son of Priam. On one occasion, Agamemnon gravely offended Achilles, in consequence of which the latter withdrew from the contest, and the Trojans nearly succeeded in driving the Greeks out of their land. But in the hour of extremity, when his own friend Patroklos had fallen, Achilles again began to take part in the fight, and in the end killed Hector. He then tied his body by the feet to his chariot, and dragged it thrice round the city. The war lasted ten years, and ended in Troy being taken by the Greeks through the famous stratagem of the wooden

horse. The Trojans are said to have been assisted by auxiliaries from several parts of Asia Minor, and even from the far distant east. The fall of Troy is commonly assigned to the year B.C. 1184.

This story, with all the marvellous details described in the Homeric and other poems, cannot, of course, be regarded as real history, but still we need not refuse to believe that at one time there actually was a great war between the Greeks of Europe and the inhabitants of the north-west coast of Asia Minor, which may perhaps have arisen out of an attempt of the Greeks to take possession of that part of Asia, for it is there that the Greeks established their first colonies, of which moreover Agamemnon was regarded as the founder.

The return of the heroes from Troy forms the transition to an entirely new state of things. Many of them had been killed in the war, others had perished on their way home, and others wandered about for many years before they reached their native land, and then found their thrones occupied by usurpers, or their kingdom in a state of anarchy. Thus Agamemnon on his arrival at Mykenæ was murdered by Ægisthos, the paramour of his wife Clytæmnestra; and Odysseus had to contend against numerous suitors for his throne and the hand of his wife Penelope. In fact, the stories about the return of the heroes from Troy formed as important a part in the ballad poetry of the Greeks as the Trojan war itself. But after this the heroes entirely disappear, and we are beginning to feel that the events recorded thereafter have more the real appearance of history than anything preceding it.





SACRIFICE OF A BULL.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF CIVILISATION DURING THE HEROIC AGE.

As the Trojan war and its immediate consequences form the close of the heroic age, it will be of interest to cast a glance at the state of civilisation during that period, so far as it is revealed to us in the poems of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the earliest productions of European literature.

One of the most characteristic features of the heroic age is the peculiar relation between gods and men. The *gods* were believed to dwell on Mount Olympus in the north-east of Thessaly; thence they often descended, mingled among mortal men, took an active part in their affairs, and in times of war some always sided with the one party, and others with the other. When they appeared among men, they usually assumed the form of some mortal, and but rarely showed themselves in all their majesty as gods, because it would have been overpowering to the weak senses of man. But still they were everywhere conceived as beings of the human form, both male and female. This anthropomorphism of the gods, however, seems to have been a conception of a later stage in the development of the religious ideas during the heroic age; for the earliest Greeks, or the Pelasgians, as we may call them, worshipped the various powers of Nature as manifested in the sun, the moon, the clouds, the winds, the sea, earthquakes, thunder and lightning; in short, wherever they perceived any active agency in

Nature, they looked upon it with awe and reverence as a manifestation of some deity. In this respect the ancient Greek religion still bore a strong resemblance to that of their Aryan kinsmen in the east. Thus Zeus was the father of light, Apollo was the sun, Artemis (Diana) the moon, Poseidon (Neptune) the sea, Athena the personification of wisdom and valour, etc. But when once the gods were conceived as beings of human forms, subject to all the weaknesses and passions of mortal men, the more ancient and grander ideas of the gods were gradually forgotten, though in many of the tales related about them we can still hear, as it were, an echo of the noble primitive ideas, and many a tale which appears to us ridiculous or even immoral, frequently enshrines some sublime idea of Nature's powers and influences. The gods were conceived as immortal beings, and each one in his own sphere as almost omnipotent; but there was a still greater power, the power of Fate, to whose inscrutable and inflexible decrees even the gods had to submit, and from which mortal men, do what they might, could not escape, as is seen in the story of *Cædipus*. The supposed anger of the gods was propitiated, and their goodwill secured by sacrifices and prayers; and the more precious a sacrifice was, the more efficacious it was believed to be, whence even human sacrifices appear to have been resorted to. In later times the gods were represented in statues of marble or bronze, and set up in temples; but sometimes even a very rude image or a stone, supposed to have fallen from heaven, was reverently looked upon as the symbol of some god. We must not, however, believe that the Greeks actually worshipped such images and symbols; such idolatry, if it ever did occur, arose only at a very late period of Greek history, and even then was confined to the ignorant who confounded the symbols with the gods themselves.

Although the gods were not always represented by the poets as models of goodness and morality, they were, nevertheless, supposed to punish the misdeeds of men both in this world and in a future state, for they believed

in a sort of immortality of the soul, though its life in the nether world was believed to be so dismal that one of the great heroes is said to have declared he would rather be a beggar on earth than a king of the shades in the lower regions. Zeus, the supreme god, was looked upon as the protector of hospitality, of strangers, and of beggars. The violation of an oath was also believed to be avenged by Zeus.

All men have a natural desire to know something of the future, and the Greeks fancied that such knowledge could be obtained in a variety of ways, from signs in the heavens, from dreams, and other natural occurrences; but there also were men, like Kalchas, Teiresias, and others, who were believed to have received the gift of prophecy from the gods. There were, moreover, certain localities in which the gods were supposed to reveal the future to mortals. The most ancient and most celebrated place of this kind was Dodona, with its oracle of Zeus, in Epirus. This was afterwards eclipsed by the renowned oracle of Apollo at Delphi, where states and cities, as well as private citizens, sought comfort and advice, and nothing great was ever undertaken without first consulting the will of the gods.

The arts of war and navigation were still in their infancy. The ships which conveyed the Greeks to Troy were open boats, some carrying 120, and others only 50 men. During the war itself, we hear, indeed, of armies, but the poets generally speak only of the combats of heroes, which always decide the issue of a battle, unless some god interferes. The masses appear mostly only as a sort of background and foil for the heroes. Each hero, accompanied by a charioteer, fights from a chariot drawn by two horses, and is armed with sword, spear, and bow and arrows. No quarter was given to a vanquished enemy, whose dead body even was often savagely insulted. Prisoners of war, especially women, were generally distributed as slaves among the conquerors, while the men were put to death.

The country of Greece, which was then not yet desig-

nated by a common name, was divided into a great number of principalities, each of which was governed by an hereditary king. On grave occasions the king summoned a council of elders or nobles, among whom he was only the first in rank. The great body of the people were of little account. Laws in our sense of the term did not exist, everything being determined by ancient usage and precedent.

The social life, as we might expect, was extremely simple, and in many ways resembled that of our ancestors during the Middle Ages. Even queens and princesses performed the ordinary duties of the household down to fetching water and washing clothes. Females were under less restraint than we find them during the historical times. The nobles who were mainly distinguished for their prowess, and sometimes for their wisdom, generally had a number of slaves who, in most cases, were prisoners of war, or had been purchased from foreign merchants, or were the children of slaves born in the house of the master. Though the Greeks were severe in their treatment of slaves, they never were wanton or insulting towards them, except, perhaps, at Sparta. The nobles had their lands cultivated either by hired freemen or by slaves, though the latter were more generally employed in domestic labours. The Greeks were at all times a frugal nation, especially during the heroic ages, and excesses in drinking are scarcely ever mentioned.

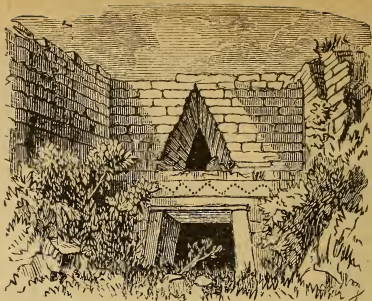
All commerce was carried on by barter, and money is not mentioned during the heroic period, though there seems to have been an abundance of gold and silver, and bronze and iron were in common use. Piracy was not looked upon as a dishonourable occupation, and was practised extensively. In the coast districts cattle and human beings were often carried off by pirates who sold the men as slaves; a man might even gain distinction and honour by displaying skill and valour as a pirate.

The arts most highly prized were those of war: the skilful use of arms, swiftness of foot, and a good loud voice. The geographical knowledge of this period was

limited to Greece, the surrounding islands, and the north-west coast of Asia Minor; all other countries, even Italy and Sicily, seem to have been utterly unknown, and most marvellous tales were current about them and other neighbouring countries. Of literature we can hardly speak in those early ages, for although the art of writing is said to have been introduced into Greece at a very early period, it is nowhere mentioned in the stories that have come down to our time. But we have good reason for believing that there existed a considerable amount of ballad poetry, celebrating the deeds of the heroes, and hymns of praise to the gods. The Iliad itself is probably a collection of ballads of this kind, skilfully combined into one great epic poem by a later hand or hands. Homer, the reputed author of the Iliad and Odyssey, is commonly believed to have lived about B.C. 900. Hesiod, another poet who flourished somewhat later, employs a language very like that of his predecessor, but his subjects are very different, for he describes to us the origin of the gods and the peaceful pursuits of ordinary life. But both poets have greatly contributed towards fixing for all future time the ideas and conceptions about the Hellenic gods.



LION GATE OF MYCENÆ.



TREASURE HOUSE OF ATREUS.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE TROJAN TIMES TO THE CONQUEST OF MESSENIA BY THE SPARTANS.

THE first century after the Trojan times was a period of migrations, one ever giving rise to another. It may here be observed that, although the Greeks throughout their country belonged to the same race, there yet were some important differences, not only in language, but also in the national character and the institutions of the various tribes. One very widely-spread branch of the nation was that of the Achæans, whom we meet with in Thessaly, and in a great part of Peloponnesus. Afterwards we find the nation divided into three great branches, the Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians, each of which occupied a distinct part of Hellas, and all of which traced their origin to a mythical ancestor of the name of Hellen. The Dorians, originally confined to a small district in the north-west of Mount Parnassus, were a hardy, warlike race, and their dialect was broad and harsh; the Ionians, whose dialect was soft and rich in vowels, were distinguished for their subtle intellect and spirit of enterprise; they represented the ever progressive principle, while the Dorians, being more conservative, remained in many respects stationary. The Ionians inhabited the western part of Greece, the north of Peloponnesus, and Attika.

The *Æolians*, both in regard to their dialect and their national character, formed a kind of intermediate tribe between the other two, but their dialect preserved the oldest forms of the language. As each of these three tribes passed through its own peculiar development almost independent of the others, their arts and literature also bore a distinct character, each tribe cultivating those powers with which Nature had specially endowed it, and which circumstances called into action. In Greece, therefore, we find no system of centralisation or uniformity, and the works of Greek genius display an almost unexampled richness and variety.

The first of the migrations we hear of occurred about sixty years after the fall of Troy. The Thessalians, a people dwelling in Epirus, came across the mountains into the country afterwards called after them Thessaly, and there reduced one part of the population to servitude, and compelled others to emigrate. Among the latter, the Bœotians migrated south, and took possession of the country henceforth called Bœotia. This latter country had until then been inhabited by Kadmeians and Minyans, but they being now driven from their homes, and being joined by Achæans from Peloponnesus, are said to have sailed to the north-west coast of Asia Minor, and there to have established a series of settlements known by the name of the *Æolian Colonies*.

Another migration of far greater importance was that of the *Dorians* into Peloponnesus, of which they conquered the greater and most fertile parts. This migration is commonly assigned to the year B.C. 1104. It is said to have arisen out of a claim set up by the descendants of Herakles upon the possession of a portion of Peloponnesus. The Dorians, who can have formed only a small portion of the immigrants, were joined by adventurers from *Ætolia* and other countries, and with their help gradually overpowered the original inhabitants of the peninsula, and either reduced them to a state of servitude, or forced them to seek a new home in other lands. *Arkadia*, the central highlands of Peloponnesus, alone re-

mained unconquered, and for a long time preserved its primitive Pelasgian character. The conquering chiefs divided the newly-acquired countries among themselves. Oxylos, an Ætolian who had guided the invaders, obtained for his share the country called Elis, which he governed with wisdom and moderation, depriving the original inhabitants of only a portion of their lands. Tisamenos, a grandson of Agamemnon, after having vainly attempted to obtain peaceful settlements among the Ionians in the north coast of Peloponnesus, waged a successful war against them, and expelled them from their country, of which he himself, with his Achæans, then took possession. That coast country thenceforward obtained the name of Achaia. The exiled Ionians sought and found a refuge among their kinsmen in Attika; but as the population of Attika thus became too large, considering the few fertile districts it contained, the Ionians were soon obliged to leave their place of refuge, and accompanied by other adventurers, emigrated to the coast of Asia Minor, where they founded a series of colonies to the south of those of the Æolians.

Meanwhile the Dorian chiefs in Peloponnesus continued to divide the conquered countries among themselves. Eurysthenes and Prokles, the twin sons of the Dorian chief Aristodemos, who had died during the conquest, obtained Lakonia; Kresphontes, Messenia; and Temenos, Argos. Eurysthenes and Prokles, who fixed their residence at Sparta, are said to have allowed the conquered Achæans the same rights as the conquering Dorians; but one of their successors reduced all the old inhabitants of the country to the condition of subjects, and the inhabitants of the town of Helos, who had resolutely defended their independence to the last, were conquered in the end, and reduced to a state of slavery, whence afterwards all the slaves in Lakonia are called Helots. These conquests are said to have taken place in a very short time, but there is sufficient evidence to show that many a town in Lakonia, Messenia, and elsewhere, defended its independence for a long time. The Dorians, however,

pushed their conquests farther, and a descendant of Herakles, of the name of Aletes, made himself master of Korinth and there established a new dynasty. During these wars of conquest, many parts of Peloponnesus had been laid waste, and thus compelled the conquerors to proceed to other parts. The taking of Korinth brought them to the confines of Attika, which was then governed by a king of the name of *Kodros*. Aletes led the invaders into Attika. An oracle had declared that the Dorians would be successful if they spared the life of the Athenian king. When the Athenians heard of this prophecy, their noble king at once resolved to sacrifice himself for his country. In the disguise of a woodman he went among the invaders, and slew one of them, whereupon the Dorians, who had witnessed the deed, rushed on and killed him. When it became known to them that they had slain the Athenian king, they were seized with terror, and withdrew their forces from Attika.

While Attika thus escaped falling into the hands of the Dorians, a portion of it, afterwards called Megara, was occupied by a Dorian colony from Korinth. The island of *Ægina* was likewise seized by the Dorians. A far more important conquest than these was that of the island of *Krete*. During the long troubles connected with the conquest of Peloponnesus, many Dorian adventurers, either dissatisfied with what they had got, or having been unable to obtain any share in the spoil, proceeded to the islands of Rhodes and Krete. In the latter they are said to have met with few obstacles, as they found the place almost depopulated by disease and famine. They were accordingly enabled to establish themselves unhindered, and to preserve their ancient national character and institutions. Although these institutions are commonly said to have been founded by the ancient king Minos, to make them appear more venerable, yet it is quite certain that they were brought in by the Dorians themselves, for in whatever parts of Greece the Dorians established themselves, we find the same or very similar

institutions as those of Krete. Their general outline is, that all the inhabitants of the country were divided into three classes, *freemen*, *periœci*, and *slaves*, the last two being probably the descendants of the original inhabitants. The *periœci* were obliged to live in open towns, and were personally free, but had to pay tribute to their Dorian rulers. All the powers of the government were in the hands of the Dorians. A great part of the land was taken from the original proprietors, and was either occupied by the Dorians themselves, or set apart as state property cultivated by public slaves. The Dorian rulers occupied themselves exclusively with the pursuit of war and the chase, while the land was tilled by the *periœci* and the slaves. Krete itself was divided into several small states, each of which was governed by ten annually elected magistrates, bearing the title of *Kosmoi*, and at the end of their year of office they might become members of the senate, consisting of thirty men, and bearing the title of *geronia* or *bulé*. We also hear of a popular assembly consisting of all freemen who had attained a certain age, but this assembly does not seem to have had any other power but to give its assent to the measure which the government thought fit to bring before it.

One of the most striking features in the Kretan mode of life, though this, too, is found in other Doric states, was that all the Dorian freemen, old and young, took their meals together at public tables, and at the expense of the state. These meetings in Krete were called *andreaia*, and in other Doric states, *syssitia*. Such a custom could not but keep up a strong *esprit de corps* among the freemen, and the young naturally imbibed the ideas of their elders. The education of boys was harsh and severe, and this also is a feature we meet with in all other Doric states.

In no country was the Doric character more firmly established and lasted longer than in *Lakonia*. A few centuries, indeed, elapsed before things were completely and peacefully settled, but *Sparta*, the capital of *Lakonia*, soon rose to the rank of the first city in Greece. Its laws

and political institutions are generally ascribed to the great lawgiver *Lykurgos*; but if we examine them and compare them with those of other Doric states, we find that their groundwork at least is the same as everywhere else, whence we must infer that *Lykurgos* probably did no more than collect and arrange in one code what had been the ancient usages of his countrymen. His history is anything but certain. The date generally assigned to his legislation is the year B.C. 884, but others place him more than 200 years earlier. Sparta was always governed by two kings, the descendants of *Eurysthenes* and *Prokles*, and *Lykurgos* was believed to have been connected with one of these royal houses. One of the kings, it is said, had died, and his widow wishing to marry *Lykurgos*, proposed to get rid of her son and secure the succession to *Lykurgos*. But the latter's sense of justice revolted at such a scheme, and in order to escape the importunities of the widow, and to secure the succession to the young prince, he left Sparta, and spent the best part of his life in foreign countries, where he gathered knowledge and information, until at last, urged by his countrymen, he returned. On his arrival he is said to have found Sparta in a state of the greatest disorder. The party favourable to him induced the Delphic oracle to declare him the wisest of mortals. Armed with this declaration, his friends easily persuaded their fellow-citizens to entrust the necessary reforms and legislation to him. He had still to contend with much opposition, but he nevertheless succeeded in enacting a series of laws by which the civil and military constitution of the state, the distribution of property, the education of the citizens, and the regulation of their daily life were fixed. When he had accomplished his work, he departed to Delphi, binding his fellow-citizens by a solemn oath not to make any change in his laws until his return. But he never did return, and the Delphic oracle declared that Sparta should flourish so long as it observed the laws of *Lykurgos*. By this means the immutable character of his laws was secured, and the person of the lawgiver was entirely lost

sight of, but the Spartans erected a temple in his honour, and worshipped him as a demi-god with annual sacrifices.

The legislation of Lykurgos forms an epoch in the history of Lakonia, for up to this time the country appears to have been in a state of utter confusion and anarchy; but there now followed a long period of order and settled government. The reforms introduced by the legislator influenced the whole country, and the public as well as the private life of its inhabitants, and what hitherto had been mere customs and usages, were now transformed into fixed laws, sanctioned and hallowed by the oracle of Delphi. One of the great objects of Lykurgos was to establish the sovereignty of Sparta over the whole of Lakonia, and to unite the Spartans among themselves as closely as possible. In order to put an end to the quarrels and disputes about the land, he is said to have made an entirely new division of all the landed property in the country. It may be mentioned here that the whole of Lakonia was not completely conquered by the Dorians till about a century after Lykurgos; but so far as they were then masters of it, he is said to have divided it into 39,000 lots, of which 9000 were assigned to the Spartans, and 30,000 to the free Lakonians scattered over the country. Another account assigns this division of landed property to a later period, when Messenia had become subject to Sparta.

It is but natural to suppose that the ruling Spartans retained the best parts of the land for themselves. We find the whole population divided into three classes: (1.) the Spartans or ruling Dorians; (2.) the slaves or Helots; and (3.) the subject people of Lakonia. The last consisted chiefly of the ancient Achæan inhabitants, who were obliged to live in open towns and villages, as the Dorians were in perpetual fear of their rising against them. They were personally free, but had no political rights; they had to bear the heaviest burdens, and to fight the battles of their rulers; but on the other hand they were in the undivided possession of all the trades and manufactures of the country, as the ruling Spartans

looked upon all such pursuits as degrading. The Helots were probably those of the ancient Achæans who had most resolutely defended their liberty, but being overpowered in the end, were reduced to a state of servitude. Their condition was more wretched than that of the slaves in any other part of Greece; they were looked upon with fear and jealousy, and often treated with inhuman cruelty to make them feel the contempt in which they were held, and to break their spirits. They were bound to the soil, and could not be sold into another country. They might, however, recover their freedom by zeal and industry, and as they always accompanied their masters in war, they might even enrich themselves by plunder.

The ruling Spartans had all equal rights, and formed a sort of aristocracy like that of the Roman patricians, and they alone constituted the really free citizens. As already observed, the Spartans were governed by two hereditary kings; and the constitution, approved as it had been by the oracle, remained the same down to the latest times, when its very spirit and soul had vanished. The popular assembly, in which, of course, the Spartans alone took part, was convened by the magistrates at stated times, but could only accept or reject the measures brought before it. There was also a senate consisting of twenty-eight, or, including the two kings, thirty members; it bore the name of *gerusia*—that is, assembly of elders. They were chosen by the kings, and none could become a member of the senate until he had completed his sixtieth year. The function of the senate was to prepare the measures which were to be brought before the people, and the country seems, in fact, to have been governed by that body and the two kings alone, until at a somewhat later period a magistracy, called the *ephors*, was instituted, whereby the powers of both the kings and the senate were considerably reduced. The kings originally had the supreme command of the armies; they were the high priests and supreme judges of the nation; they were revered as the chief magistrates, and as descendants of Herakles; they possessed extensive domains, and received

certain payments in kind which enabled them to live in rather a sumptuous manner; the ephors, about whose origin nothing certain is known, were five in number, and seem at first to have possessed a kind of civil jurisdiction among the Spartans, but, like the Roman tribunes, their powers gradually increased so much that they became the virtual rulers of the state.

A Spartan citizen lived only for the state; his substance, time, strength, faculties, and affections were dedicated to its service, and its welfare and glory were his highest honour and happiness. As the Spartans formed a close aristocracy, their numbers gradually decreased, and as their property could not be sold, but always descended to the eldest son, or, in default of a son, to the eldest daughter, the landed property in the end accumulated in the hands of a few extremely wealthy proprietors. The Spartans were never allowed to coin money, and bars or pieces of iron continued to be their only legal currency down to the latest times. This rule, however, did not apply to the Lakonians, who were perfectly free in their commercial dealings with other states. Women were much more respected and honoured at Sparta than in other parts of Greece; and the education of young men for the service of the state was conducted with great care, but all that was aimed at in their education was to train them as men who had to live in the midst of danger and difficulty, and should be as ready to obey as to command. Sickly or deformed children were exposed in the forests of Mount Taygetos. Martial poetry, however, and gymnastic exercises were held in high esteem.

From all this we see that the Spartan institutions were of a one-sided character, and scarcely deserved the high admiration which has often been bestowed upon them. The Spartans in all their movements were cautious and slow. War was their element, and the only service considered worthy of a Spartan was that of the heavy armed infantry. The Helots formed the light infantry, and Sparta never acquired any naval power until nearly 500 years after the time of Lykurgos.

The legislation of Lykurgos secured to Sparta a well regulated government and discipline; and when about 100 years later the whole of Lakonia was finally subdued, the Spartans might have enjoyed a period of repose and tranquillity. But their warlike spirit and the love of conquest fostered by so many years of warfare with the ancient Achæans, led them into a war with Argos for the possession of the eastern coast of Lakonia, which belonged to Argos, but was finally conquered by the Spartans.

A more important country which excited their jealousy and covetousness was *Messenia*, on the west of Lakonia, which was far more fertile and productive than their own. The Achæans in that country, moreover, being treated by their conquerors with greater mildness and gentleness than those in Lakonia, were a comparatively happy people, the conquerors and the conquered being united as one people, and all enjoying the same rights and privileges. The country, therefore, was prosperous, and as its inhabitants cultivated the arts of peace more than those of war, the Spartans thought it an easy matter to add that country to their dominions. A pretext for war was easily found. Frequent acts of hostility had been committed on both sides of the frontier, and a private wrong done by a Spartan to a Messenian led to the outbreak of a war between the two countries, which lasted from B.C. 743 to 724. The Spartans bound themselves by an oath not to lay down their arms until they had made themselves masters of the country; and invading it, they massacred the defenceless inhabitants, and established themselves in the town of Amphia, in the north-east of Messenia. The account we have of this war is full of poetical lays and popular traditions. But it seems certain that for several years the Spartans, sallying forth from Amphia, ravaged the country far and wide. The Messenians, who suffered severely, fortified themselves on Mount Ithome, and an oracle promised them the victory if they sacrificed a pure virgin to the infernal gods. Aristodemos, a noble Messenian, accordingly offered his daughter as a

victim ; and when the Spartans learned that the command of the oracle had been complied with, they were discouraged, and for a time stopped the war against their neighbours. After some years the Spartan king Theopompos again led an army into Messenia, and fought a great battle in which the Messenian king was killed. He was succeeded by the patriotic Aristodemos, who was extremely popular, governed his kingdom wisely, and entered into an alliance with the Arkadians. The war was continued by ravaging inroads, especially at the harvest time, when the Spartans destroyed the crops of the Messenians, and thus tried to reduce them by famine. At last, in the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemos, a pitched battle was fought at the foot of Mount Ithome, in which the Spartans suffered a great defeat. But in the end the Messenians lost heart in consequence of unfavourable oracles and several successful undertakings of the Spartans, and Aristodemos in despair put an end to his life. This untoward event deprived the Messenians of all hope, but not of their courage, and once more they made a vigorous sally from Mount Ithome. But when their brave leaders had fallen, the people fled from their fortress, leaving their lands in the possession of the conquerors, and the war was at an end.

The main body of the people dispersed to their homes, but many took refuge in foreign countries. The Spartans disposed of the land at their pleasure, and the Messenians, who remained in their homes, were reduced to the condition of serfs, and had to pay half the produce of their fields to their masters. This war led in B.C. 708 to the foundation of the town of *Tarentum* in southern Italy, the colonists being the offspring of marriages contracted between Spartans and Lakonians during the course of the Messenian war. The great rise in the power of the ephors also appears to belong to this period.

While Sparta was engaged against the Messenians, Argos, under its great king Pheidon, not only recovered the eastern coast district of Lakonia, but even conquered the island of Kythera. But fortune forsook Argos after

the death of Pheidon, and Sparta again became the mistress of the south of Peloponnesus from sea to sea. She was, however, not to enjoy her conquests undisturbed. The enslaved Messenians and their exiled countrymen burned with the desire to recover their freedom. Aristomenes, a noble Messenian of great valour, roused his countrymen into action, and formed alliances with Argos, Arkadia, and Elis. The Messenians took up arms and commenced a *second war*, which lasted from B.C. 685 to B.C. 668. The accounts of this war are even more mixed up with fables and poetical tales than the first, though the war itself is beyond all doubt. Aristomenes is said to have rallied his countrymen, and to have fought a great battle before assistance could come from Sparta; but the victory was not decisive, though the Spartans were terror-struck by the unexpected insurrection. The Messenians wished to make Aristomenes their king, but he refused the crown, and one night he is said with extraordinary daring to have entered the city of Sparta, and to have dedicated a trophy in the temple of Athena. When the Spartans consulted the oracle of Delphi, the answer was, that they should seek an Athenian counsellor, and the Athenians sent them the warlike poet Tyrtaeos to assist them in the war. The spirit of the Messenians was kept up by their exiled countrymen and by the soothsayer Theokles. In a great battle near Stenyklaros, the Spartans were completely routed, and for a time Messenia was freed from her enemies. Afterwards Aristomenes even carried the war into Lakonia, and ravaged towns and villages, until his progress was stopped by a wound. Some years later the Spartans gained a victory through the treachery of the Arkadians. Aristomenes then fortified himself on Mount Eira, where he was besieged by the enemy, who laid waste the surrounding country, though not without being perpetually harassed by the sallies of the Messenians. Aristomenes even made nocturnal expeditions into Lakonia, and after some successful enterprises of this kind, he at last fell with his companions into the hands of the Spartans, who treated

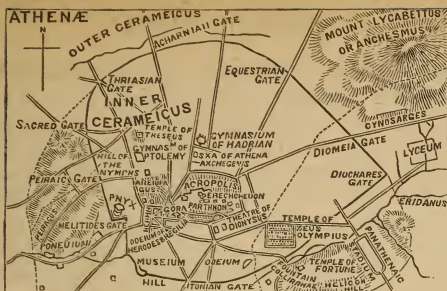
them like vile malefactors, and threw them into a deep pit, called the Keadas. But the life of Aristomenes was saved in a marvellous manner. He rejoined his men at Eira, and after many adventures and successes, he somehow or other incurred the anger of the gods. Eira had been besieged for eleven years, and was at last delivered by treachery into the hands of the besiegers. Aristomenes, with a few followers, had forced his way through the besiegers, and escaped into Arkadia, whence afterwards he invaded Lakonia, and was killed, sword in hand.

After this war all the Messenians remaining in the country were reduced to the condition of Helots; the rest emigrated, and some of them sailed to Rhegium in southern Italy, and then made themselves masters of the town of Zankle on the opposite coast of Sicily, which was henceforth called Messana (the modern Messina).

After the final conquest of Messenia, Sparta rapidly rose to a prominent position in Greece; she began to interfere in the affairs of other states, and to exercise a kind of supremacy, to which the smaller states, willingly or unwillingly, had to submit.



APOLLO.



CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF ATHENS DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

WHILE Sparta was conquering the south of Peloponnesus and extending her influence over nearly every part of Greece, the history of Athens presents little that is of interest or importance, except the internal struggles between the king and the nobles, and between the nobles and the commonalty (demos); when at length the commonalty gained its proper position in the state, and the government acquired a settled form, Athens, with unexampled rapidity, rose to such eminence as to eclipse all the other Greek states.

It has already been remarked that *Theseus* was regarded as the founder of the Athenian state. Before his time the country of Attika is said to have been divided into a number of small and independent communities, all of which were united by Theseus into one state, with Athens for its capital. He was, further, popularly regarded as the author of all the great political institutions of the country. In the constitution which he was believed to have framed, but which in all probability was the natural result of circumstances, the nobles, called Eupatridæ, had all equal rights; they alone possessed the powers of government, regulated the affairs of religion, and not only made, but also administered the laws. The commonalty, consisting of free husbandmen and artisans, was entirely

under the control of the king and the nobles, but the king, though hereditary, was only the first among the nobles.

The people of Attika, as in other ancient states, were divided into a number of *tribes* (*phylæ*) ; in Attika their number was four, and each of them was subdivided into three *fraternities* (*phratriæ*), and each fraternity into thirty *clans* (*gené* or *gentes*). The king was assisted in the government by a council of elders and by the assembly of the nobles, in which the demos was not allowed to take part. Wherever such a state of things exists, struggles between the ruling party and its subjects will break out sooner or later. In Athens the first struggles we hear of arose not between the nobles and the demos, but between the nobles and the king. Thus, after the death of the patriotic king Kodros, the nobles, taking advantage of disputes between his sons about the succession, abolished the title of king, substituting for it the less venerable name of *archon*, that is, ruler ; the office, however, was allowed to remain hereditary in the family of Kodros, the nobles reserving for themselves the right of electing the archon. The person thus elected held the office for life ; but the nobles, whose ambition was not satisfied with this, aimed at an equal share in the sovereignty, and after twelve archonships for life, in B.C. 752, they determined to limit the office to a period of ten years, though the archon still continued to be chosen from the descendants of Kodros. This new arrangement lasted only sixty-nine years, for in B.C. 683, the duration of the archonship was reduced to one year, and at the same time, the powers which until then had been exercised by the one archon, was now distributed among nine magistrates, so that henceforth a large number of the nobles had at least a chance of becoming partakers in the sovereignty. The first of these nine archons bore the title of *the archon*, and by his name the year was marked in the annals of the country. The second was styled *king-archon*, that name being retained for religious reasons, as he had to perform the religious functions which had formerly be-

longed to the king. The third archon, called *polemarchos*, had the command of the army; and the remaining six bore the common title of *thesmothetæ*, that is, expounders and administrators of the law.

These successive changes in the government of Athens are almost the only events in its history from the time of Kodros until the year B.C. 683. The condition of the demos, as might be supposed, was anything but happy under the rule of ambitious and selfish nobles who had long ceased to be controlled by the higher power of a king. Their oppression was felt more particularly in the administration of the law of which they were the sole makers and expounders; and as, moreover, the laws were not written, the nobles might exercise the greatest license in their explanation and administration. The necessity of a written code of laws was therefore felt more and more, and in B.C. 624, led to the appointment of *Drakon* for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws which all citizens might know. This step was a concession which the nobles had been compelled to make to the demos. But the laws drawn up by Drakon are said to have been of such severity, that an Athenian of later times declared them to have been written in blood. According to Drakon's view, it is said, all offences were equally deserving of death as their punishment. This character of his laws rendered him so unpopular that he was obliged to leave his country and take up his abode in the island of Ægina, where he died soon after.

A legislation like that of Drakon could not allay the discontent of the people, who were now, in fact, in that state of mind that they would have submitted to anything rather than to the arbitrary rule of the nobles. Some of the latter, not slow to perceive this, entered into a conspiracy with the object of raising *Kylon*, one of their number, to the position of *tyrannos*, that is, a person usurping the supreme power in a free state. This happened in B.C. 612. Tyrants were at that time springing up in several Greek states, and Kylon could rely both on the popular discontent and on the assistance of Theagenes,

tyrant of Megara. Before entering on any decisive step, Kylon consulted the oracle of Delphi, and its ambiguous answer led him to commence his operations on a wrong day. However, with the help of his supporters, he succeeded in seizing the akropolis or citadel of Athens, where he was besieged by his brother nobles, who assembled all the forces of the country against him. Kylon, being hard pressed and despairing of success, made his escape, and his followers were compelled to surrender to the archon *Megakles*, a son of Alkmæon, on condition that their lives should be spared. But the conquerors, in spite of this promise, slew the prisoners, and even killed some who had taken refuge at the altar of the Eumenides (Furies). As this sacrilege was committed with the sanction of Megakles, he and all his house were henceforth looked upon by the people with horror as accursed persons ; and the partisans of Kylon, no doubt, fostered this feeling towards their enemies. Every misfortune that henceforth fell upon Athens was declared to be a sign of the divine wrath at the crime of Megakles ; and if matters had been permitted to go on in this way, the result would undoubtedly have been a terrible civil war.

In these circumstances, the government as well as the people were anxious to find a man capable of allaying the ferment and remodelling the constitution in a manner satisfactory to all. That man was *Solon*, a descendant of the royal house of Kodros, who had visited many foreign lands, everywhere gathering information and forming friendships with the most illustrious persons of his age. He had returned to Athens soon after the suppression of the Kylonian conspiracy, and found his country internally distracted and so weak as to be unable to resist even its weakest neighbours. The Megarians had taken the island of Salamis from the Athenians ; and the latter, after many fruitless attempts to recover it, had given up all hope, and even threatened with severe punishment any one who should induce the people to renew the war. But Solon, who was also a great poet, contrived by a splendid poem once more to rouse the spirit of his countrymen. The

result was, that he himself was appointed commander of the Athenian forces, and in B.C. 604, he succeeded in driving the Megarians from Salamis. This victory greatly increased his power and influence, and, supported by the moderate party of the nobles, he prevailed upon Megakles and his associates to submit their case to a court of arbitration. The court found Megakles and his party guilty of sacrilege, and in B.C. 597, all the descendants of Alkmæon (the Alkmæonids) were sent into exile. As this was not thought sufficient to propitiate the anger of the gods, Solon invited Epimenides of Krete, a person who was universally regarded as a holy man, and as possessed of superhuman wisdom. By certain religious rites Epimenides purified the city to the satisfaction of all, and then returned to his native island.

When the minds of the people were thus freed from their superstitious fears, Solon was elected archon for the year B.C. 594, and with the consent of all parties, he received full authority to draw up a new constitution and a code of laws. In order to understand his legislation, it is necessary to cast a glance at the condition in which he found his country. Many of the agricultural population had been reduced to a state of absolute dependence on their lords; political rights they had probably none at all; and the law of debt was so severe, that the debtor, when unable to pay his creditor, might be seized and sold as a slave into a foreign country. Those who suffered under such a system were naturally eager for any change, while the nobles wished to keep things as they were. The shepherds and poor peasants of the hilly districts, though less suffering, were equally anxious for a change that should secure them against the rapacity of their oppressors. The men of the coast, mostly merchants and traders, were indeed averse to violent measures, but still joined the rest in demanding such reforms as would put an end to all reasonable complaints. The task, therefore, which Solon had to undertake, was of a twofold nature: he had first to relieve the existing distress of the commonalty, and secondly to enact such laws as would

prevent the recurrence of the same or similar evils. His first measures, accordingly, freed the debtors of a portion of their debts, without causing any very serious loss to creditors, to restore the pledged lands to their owners, and to forbid creditors to seize and sell the persons of their debtors.

Having settled these most urgent matters, he abolished the laws of Drakon, recalled a number of exiles, probably including the family of Megakles, and made some regulations about foreigners, many of whom had taken up their abode in Attika. The settlement of these minor matters was followed by the remodelling of the constitution. Hitherto, birth alone had determined a man's rights and privileges, but Solon now made landed property, or rather the produce of such property, the standard by which his rights and duties were fixed. For this purpose, he divided the whole population of Attika into four classes, the first three being landed proprietors possessing more or less productive estates; the fourth class, called thetes, seem to have consisted for the most part of free labourers and artisans. The great offices of state were made accessible only to the members of the first or wealthiest class, while minor offices could, no doubt, be held by men of the second and third classes. The wealthier a man was, the heavier were his duties. Thus the men of the second class formed the cavalry, those of the third the heavy-armed infantry, and those of the fourth served only as light infantry, and at a later period as marines in the navy. Such a change, though most important in principle, at first left things much the same as they had been before; but a man of talent and industry might, in the course of time, rise from a lower to a higher class, and thereby become capable of holding the highest offices in the state. In the popular assembly, moreover, the members of all the classes appeared on a footing of perfect equality, and its power henceforth was not limited to accepting or rejecting the measures that were brought before it, but it might amend or modify them as it thought fit; and every man who had attained

the age of twenty, was allowed to speak and express his opinions upon all questions. The new constitution allowed the magistrates the same powers which they had had before, but they were made responsible for their acts to the assembled people, and an appeal from their judicial verdicts was left open to a numerous popular court called the *Heliæa*.

While Solon thus made the democratic element very strong, he at the same time checked its power by establishing a *senate* of 400 members, to which no man under thirty was eligible, and for which a certain property qualification was required. The senators held their dignity for only one year, at the end of which they were liable to be called upon to render an account of their conduct. The chief business of the senate was to prepare the measures which were to be brought before the assembled people, though this was by no means its only function. The second court, likewise intended to check the power of the demos, was that of the *Areiopagos*, which is indeed said to have existed even in mythical times, but seems to have been newly organised by Solon, and to have been invested with political powers. It is well known that it took cognisance of murder, maiming, poisoning, and arson.

Solon, fully aware that no reform, however good and useful, can be final, but must be modified from time to time according to altered circumstances, provided that the laws should be periodically examined and improved. His legislation, like that of all ancient lawgivers, undertook to regulate the private life of the citizens as well as the affairs of the state; hence we find Solon laying down rules for the education of the young, and making very stringent regulations regarding women, whose education was rather discouraged than otherwise. The state of the Athenian navy also engaged his attention, and the citizens were bound, at their own expense, to equip a fleet of forty-eight galleys. Commerce and manufactures were encouraged by inducing foreigners to settle in Attika, many of whom received the franchise, while others en-

joyed the protection of the law on paying a small alien tax. Slavery continued to exist in Attika as before, though the slaves were never so harshly treated as in other parts of Greece, especially at Sparta.

After the completion of his legislation, Solon is said to have left Athens, and to have travelled in foreign countries for a period of ten years, and to have become acquainted with Krœsus, king of Lydia, whose pride he is reported to have tried to subdue, by telling him that no man should boast of being happy until he had reached the last day of his life. On his return to Athens, about B.C. 562, he found that his country was again distracted by factions, and that his own great work was in danger of being destroyed. The people were divided into three parties, each headed by one of the nobles : they were the parties of the plain, the hills, and the coast. The leader of the last was *Peisistratos*, a friend and kinsman of Solon. The lawgiver did all he could to bring about a reconciliation, but it was of no avail ; and *Peisistratos*, a man of great ambition and eloquence, had determined to make himself tyrant of Athens. He acted the part of a friend of the people, and one day exhibited some self-inflicted wounds, declaring that he had been assailed by his enemies, because he was an advocate of the rights of the people. By this stratagem, he prevailed upon the people to grant him a body-guard for the protection of his person, and with this force he took possession of the akropolis. *Megakles*, one of his rivals, quitted the city, while the other, *Lykurgos*, quietly submitted to the authority of the usurper. This happened in B.C. 560.

Peisistratos continued to conduct himself as a simple citizen, avoiding all outward display of his real power. Solon died soon after ; and *Lykurgos*, allying himself with *Megakles*, succeeded in driving *Peisistratos* from Athens, his tyrannis having lasted little more than one year. The two confederates now exercised the same power as *Peisistratos* had done before, but each was jealous of the other, and only thought of how he might get rid of him. *Megakles*, finding this state of affairs intolerable, now

entered into negotiations with the exiled Peisistratos, promising to do everything in his power to restore him to his position, and even gave him his daughter in marriage. Peisistratos was brought back to Athens in a manner calculated to work upon the superstitious feelings of the multitude, for he entered the city in a chariot, having by his side a woman dressed up as Athena, the tutelary deity of Athens. However, the friendship between the two confederates did not last long, for Megakles, thinking himself insulted by Peisistratos, now formed an alliance with Lykurgos, and Peisistratos was again driven out of Athens. He went to Eretria in Eubœa, where he would have spent the remainder of his life in peace, had not his eldest son, Hippias, urged him on to fresh efforts. He accordingly made preparations for invading Attika, and formed connections with tyrants in other parts of Greece. After an exile of ten years, he landed with an army at Marathon. His enemies, whose government had not been particularly popular, marched out to meet him, but were utterly defeated. Peisistratos at once proclaimed an amnesty on condition that his enemies should quietly disperse. This act disarmed all further opposition, and Peisistratos now entered Athens as undisputed master, while his rivals Lykurgos and Megakles had to go into exile.

Peisistratos now adopted every means permanently to secure his usurped power; he surrounded himself with a body of foreign mercenaries, and sent the children of his adversaries as hostages to the island of Naxos. At the same time he gained the goodwill of the poorer classes by affording them occupation in the erection of many public works, both useful and ornamental. By these and other means, he maintained his position without any further interruption for fourteen years, until his death in B.C. 527. Still he was not unmindful of what might happen, and in order to secure a place of refuge in case of need, he gave the town of Sigeum, which he took from the Mityleneans, to a natural son. In his administration he maintained the laws of Solon. The expenses incurred by

the erection of temples and public buildings were defrayed by means of taxes levied on the wealthy for the purpose of benefiting the poorer citizens. It is further stated, that he was the first to collect the Homeric poems; he certainly had a taste for literature, for he was the first Greek who established a public library. Taking all in all, it must be owned that he made good use of his usurped power; and there are few citizens to whom Athens owed a greater debt of gratitude.

The mild rule of Peisistratos had become so popular among the Athenians, that his three sons were allowed, without hesitation, to exercise the same power as their father. Had they been as wise as he, and remembered that they held only a usurped power, Athens might for generations have been quietly governed by the descendants of Peisistratos. *Hippias*, the eldest, was at the head of affairs, and neither he nor his brothers scrupled to resort to violent measures against those whose enmity or influence they feared. At last an event occurred, which led to the overthrow of the government, and an important change in the constitution. *Harmodios*, a young Athenian, had been insulted by *Hipparchos*, one of the three brothers, and being joined by his friend *Aristogeiton*, he determined to have his revenge. The two resolved to overthrow the Peisistratids, and the festival of the Panathenæa was fixed upon as the day for carrying out their design. It was in the year B.C. 514, that the two conspirators with their friends, during the solemn procession, attacked the sons of Peisistratos. *Hipparchos* was killed in the fray, but *Harmodios* also fell; and *Aristogeiton*, with many of his friends, was arrested and put to death. After this occurrence, which revealed to *Hippias* the unpopularity of his family, he was tortured by fear and suspicion, which led him to put to death many whom he suspected, and to increase the taxes for the sake of augmenting his personal revenue. He also tried to strengthen himself by alliances with other tyrants, and gave his daughter in marriage to the tyrant of *Lampsakos*, a friend of the King of Persia.

But all was of no avail ; Hippias became daily more unpopular, and the exiled Alkmæonids, perceiving this, determined to return to their country and drive out their rivals. *Kleisthenes*, who now headed their party, secured the support of the Delphic oracle, by extraordinary liberality ; and whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, they were told that they must free Athens from its tyrants. These repeated commands at length induced the Spartans to send an army into Attika. The mercenaries of Hippias were defeated, and, alarmed by this misfortune, he sent his children out of the country, but they fell into the hands of the Spartans, who consented to restore them only on condition of Hippias quitting Attika. The demand was complied with, and in B.C. 510, Hippias proceeded to Sigeum, and all the members of the family of Peisistratos were banished for ever, while Harmodios and Aristogeiton received almost divine honours as the liberators of their country.

Kleisthenes, who thus rose to the head of affairs, like Peisistratos, attached himself to the popular party, and planned a reform of the constitution, which was to break the power of the nobles for ever. With the consent of the commonalty, and the sanction of the Delphic oracle, he abolished the four ancient tribes, and divided the whole of Attika into ten districts, also called *tribes*, each of which was subdivided into a number of *demi*, each with a town or village for its centre, and each demos was governed by a magistrate called *demarchos*. No one could be an Athenian citizen unless he was a member of one of these *demi*. The commonalty thus obtained an entirely new organisation, and was enabled to shake off the yoke of the nobles. The *senate* was increased from 400 to 500, and thus became the representative of the ten tribes, each furnishing fifty members. The *popular assembly* henceforth met regularly four times in every month. Kleisthenes is further said to have established the *process* of *ostracism*, whereby any person might be sent into exile, who by his influence and popularity, seemed to be dangerous to popular liberty.

The nobles naturally looked upon these reforms as revolutionary, and contrived to win over the Spartans, who at all times supported an aristocratic against a democratic government. They accordingly sent a message, demanding of the Athenians to banish the accursed race of the Alkmæonids; and Kleisthenes, in order not to involve his country in a war with the powerful state of Sparta, withdrew from Athens. But the Spartan king, not satisfied with this, and bent upon raising Isagoras, the bitterest opponent of Kleisthenes, to the tyrannis, invaded Attika, banished 700 families marked out by Isagoras, and was making arrangements for putting the government of the country into the hands of a few nobles. But this scheme was resisted by the people of Athens with all their might, and the Spartan king and his adherents were besieged in the akropolis. After a few days they were obliged to surrender, but the king and Isagoras were allowed to depart unmolested, while their Athenian partisans were put to death, and Kleisthenes returned to Athens in triumph, B.C. 508.

The Spartan king, deeply vexed at this defeat, formed alliances with the Bœotians, Korinthians, and Chalkidians, and determined to invade Attika a second time; but as the Korinthians felt ashamed of what they were expected to do, and refused to join in the expedition, the undertaking had to be given up. The Athenians in their distress had endeavoured in vain to obtain the assistance of Persia; but when their enemies had withdrawn, they set about chastising the Bœotians and Chalkidians, against both of whom they were successful; and Athens, being now freed from domestic and foreign enemies, became strong and powerful in the enjoyment of political freedom, and made such rapid progress that soon she outstripped all her rivals.

Her foreign enemies, however, were only hushed for a time; the Bœotians were secretly burning with the desire to avenge their defeat, and for this purpose allied themselves with the island of Ægina, an ancient enemy of Athens, and possessed of a powerful navy. The war

which was thus commenced, taught the Athenians the necessity of increasing their fleet; it lasted for about fifty years, until in B.C. 456, Ægina was conquered, and its navy destroyed.

Meanwhile the Spartans, who had discovered that they had been imposed upon by the Delphic oracle, which had induced them to assist in the expulsion of the Peisistratids, invited Hippias to return. A congress of Sparta and all her allies, was called upon to consider the means by which the return of Hippias might be effected. At this congress the Korinthian envoy declared that it was an unworthy proceeding to impose a tyrant upon a free people, and his eloquence was so impressive that all the other deputies declared against the scheme, which had therefore to be abandoned. Soon after this Hippias went to the court of Persia, and endeavoured to stir up its king to a war against his own country.



ATHENA.



ATHENIAN COIN.

CHAPTER V.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—COLONIES—LITERATURE DOWN TO THE PERSIAN WARS.

BEFORE proceeding to give an account of the momentous struggle between Europe and Asia, which was to decide whether the south-east of Europe was to remain free or become a province of an Asiatic empire, we will cast a glance at some of the national institutions of the Greeks, their numerous colonies, and the progress of literature since the days of Homer.

It has already been observed that the Greeks at no time formed one compact state, and that the country was divided into a number of small states, among which Sparta, after the Dorian conquest, became the largest and most influential. The only bond of union among them was their language and their religion, though even these presented considerable differences in the different parts of the country. But there existed from early times certain associations for religious, and in part also for political, purposes, which acquired at least the appearance of national confederations. The most important of them bore the name of *Amphiktyonies*—that is, unions of several tribes with a common centre, generally a temple, at which meetings were held at stated times. The most celebrated was the Amphiktyony of Delphi, which held its meetings in the spring at Delphi, and in the autumn at Thermopylæ. Its objects were to guard the temple of

Delphi, and to prevent cruelty and violence in war ; but this latter object appears to have been completely lost sight of, for we hear of cases in which the members of the league inflicted on each other the worst evils of war. Thus the town of Krissa, which had deserved the censure of its confederates, was punished by a war which lasted for ten years, at the end of which, in B.C. 585, it was razed to the ground, while its harbour was choked up, and the surrounding country changed into a wilderness.

A second class of national institutions consisted of festive games, celebrated at certain places and at fixed times, and open to all the Greeks in whatever part of the world they lived. The most famous among them were the *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis. They are said to have existed at a very early period, and after a long interruption to have been renewed in B.C. 776, after which time they were regularly held every four years, and that date was employed by the Greeks as a chronological era. During the days of these games there was a cessation of all hostilities among the Greeks, to enable them to proceed to Olympia without fear or danger. The games consisted of races on foot, and with horses and chariots, contests in leaping, wrestling, and boxing ; but combats with weapons were strictly excluded. Nearly every kind of bodily skill and activity was displayed in those games, and to gain a victory in any of the contests was regarded as the highest honour not only to the victor himself, but to the whole community to which he belonged, though the prize consisted in a simple garland of the wild olive. The arts of poetry and sculpture received strong nourishment at these exhibitions, for the victory often inspired a poet to lofty lyric effusions, as in the case of Pindar ; and statues of the victors were often erected, not only at Olympia, but also in their native places. Literary productions also are said to have been occasionally recited at these gatherings to the assembled Greeks. However, although all Greeks might take part in the games, the feeling of national unity does not appear to have been

created by them, but they seem, on the contrary, to have tended rather to foster a narrow local patriotism.

The form of government universally established in the earliest times was that of monarchy, limited by ancient custom, and by powerful chiefs or nobles. But during the three or four centuries after the Trojan war, the title of king was abolished in nearly all parts of Greece, and in every case the power of the nobles was increased, and took the place of that of the kings. The causes of this change must be looked for mainly in the energy and versatility of the Greek mind, which prevented the people from becoming stationary, or stopping short in any career before it had passed through every stage of it. The change was rarely brought about by a revolution, but was generally effected by a succession of reforms which gradually placed all the powers in the hands of the nobles. The great body of the people, the commonalty, continued to increase in number; while the nobles, in consequence of their exclusiveness, were ever decreasing, and everywhere endeavoured by force and violence to keep the commonalty in subjection, and check its growth. But all their endeavours were vain. It sometimes became necessary to make a compromise with the commonalty, or to appoint some person in whom all had confidence, to restore order and tranquillity. We have seen how in Attika the power of the aristocracy was overthrown by dissensions among themselves, and how one of their body, by coming forward as a champion of the commonalty, raised himself to the position of tyrant; and what happened at Athens was more or less the same as what occurred in other states of Greece.

We have already related how, in consequence of the migrations in Greece, three large groups of colonies were founded on the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. But the restless and migratory spirit of the Greeks did not stop short there. The countries which next attracted their attention were the south of Italy, which, on account of its numerous Greek colonies

obtained the name of Magna Græcia, and the island of Sicily. The country of Kyrene, on the north coast of Africa, also received Greek colonists; and even the south coasts of France and Spain, as well as the shores of the *Ægæan*, the *Propontis*, and the *Euxine*, were covered with Greek settlements. In short, there was scarcely a country round the basin of the Mediterranean that was not influenced and benefited by the mild genius of Greek culture and civilisation; and many of the more prosperous colonies became the founders of others far away from the mother country.

Many of the Greek colonies, such as the Ionians in Asia Minor, made even more rapid progress in literature and the arts of peace than the Greeks in the mother country. It was in Ionia that temples of great splendour were erected at an early period, and that the art of casting metal statues was invented. Sculpture in marble came into extensive use in consequence of its connection with architecture, the temples and other public buildings being sumptuously adorned with statues and figures in relief. The custom of honouring victors in the public games with statues, likewise contributed greatly towards the rapid advancement of the art of sculpture, in which the Greeks have never been surpassed by any other nation.

The development of literature after the days of Homer steadily continued, and the epic poetry of that age embraced the whole of the legendary history from the origin of the world to the close of the heroic age. Lyric poetry also was no doubt cultivated at a very early period, though we have no specimens of it as ancient as Homer; when, however, epic poetry was dying out, it rapidly reached its highest perfection. But unfortunately all the works of the Greek lyric poets have perished, except the odes of Pindar.

The few fragments we possess of this species of poetry are sufficient to justify the admiration in which they were held by the Greeks themselves. Lyric poetry among the Dorians and *Æolians* was chiefly of a religious,

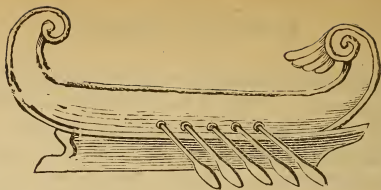
martial, or political character, while with the others it was more of a sentimental nature. The most illustrious among the lyric poets were *Archilochos*, *Hipponax*, *Alkæos*, *Anakreon*, *Ibykos*, *Mimnermos*, and *Sappho*. Literature in prose did not commence till about the beginning of the Persian wars.

The religion and poetry of the Greeks amply testify that, from the earliest times, they were of an inquisitive disposition, trying to fathom the profoundest and sublimest problems. About the middle of the sixth century a number of men are mentioned, called the Seven Sages, who were not speculative philosophers, but men actively engaged as statesmen, legislators, or magistrates. About the same time, some of the bolder spirits were led to inquire after a first cause of the phenomena of the universe. The most ancient among them was *Thales*, of Miletus, a contemporary of Solon, who maintained that moisture was the origin of all things. He was succeeded by his countryman, *Anaximenes*, who taught that air was the universal source of life; while *Herakleitos*, of Ephesus, attributed the same power to heat. We thus see that these infant philosophers attempted to solve problems which still baffle philosophers of our own time. Another school of philosophy arose at Elea, in the south of Italy, the founder of which, *Xenophanes*, based his system upon the assumption of a supreme intelligence; while his successors struck out into new paths of inquiry. It is remarkable that these Eleatic philosophers expounded their systems in verse. The most celebrated of the western schools of philosophy was that founded by *Pythagoras*, of Samos, about B.C. 570. He is said to have been the first to assume the title of philosopher—that is, lover of wisdom. He was great as a mathematician, and several mathematical discoveries are attributed to him. He also taught the immortality of the soul in the form of transmigration, similar to that maintained by the Indian Brahmins. He is said to have much travelled in foreign countries, and on his return to have settled at Kroton, in Italy, where he formed a society of the

noblest young men, through whom he hoped to exercise an influence over all the Greek colonies in Italy, and to establish an aristocratic or oligarchic form of government. But this scheme failed; the commonalty rose against the selfishness of the nobles, and the house in which the followers of Pythagoras were assembled was destroyed by fire in B.C. 504, when many of them perished. Pythagoras himself is said to have escaped to Metapontum, and to have died there soon after. The overthrow of the Pythagoræans was followed in all the towns of southern Italy by the establishment of democratic forms of government.



OLYMPIAN ZEUS.



A GREEK SHIP.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PERSIAN WARS DOWN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

THE Greek colonies along the coasts of Asia Minor were exposed to the danger of being attacked and subdued by the great despotic monarchies of the East. The kingdom that was nearest to them was that of Lydia, whose kings conquered, one after another, the Greek cities; and in the reign of Kroesus, the last Lydian king, all had to acknowledge his authority. But he had a great love and admiration of the Greeks, and allowed the cities to manage their own affairs very much as they pleased, so that they felt his rule scarcely in anything else than the necessity of paying tribute to him. Kroesus himself at last became involved in a war with Kyros, the founder of the Persian monarchy, who made Kroesus his captive, and himself master of Lydia, including the Greek colonies, B.C. 546. The Greek cities would have readily submitted to their new conqueror, if he had granted them the same terms as Kroesus had done; but as he demanded unconditional surrender, they resolved to resist him. Some seeing that they could not hope to be successful in the unequal struggle, emigrated with all they possessed to distant shores, establishing themselves at Massilia (Marseilles) and Rhegium (Reggio), and at Abdera in Thrace. The rest of the Asiatic Greeks were subdued, one after another, by the lieutenants of Kyros, and had

to acknowledge the supremacy of Persia. But the rule of the new masters does not appear to have been much more oppressive than that of the Lydians; for they, too, did not much interfere with the Greeks, so long as they paid their tribute regularly. The Asiatic Greeks therefore continued, without much molestation from Persia, to live in peace and prosperity until the reign of Darius, the third Persian king, when they allowed themselves to be enticed by an unprincipled adventurer into open rebellion against their rulers, and thereby also involved the mother country in a war with Persia.

During a gigantic expedition against the Scythians, in the plains between the Danube and the Don, King Darius and his army had been saved by *Histiæos*, a Greek tyrant of Miletus, and on his return home the king had rewarded him by giving him a large tract of country on the river Strymon in Thrace, while *Aristagoras*, a cousin of *Histiæos*, succeeded him as tyrant of Miletus. Meanwhile the lieutenants of Darius conquered Thrace, and reduced the Greek colonies on its coast, together with the neighbouring islands. Even *Amyntas*, king of Macedonia, did homage to Persia, whose king does not seem as yet to have entertained any thought of making himself master of Greece; he pursued his conquests in the East; and about the year B.C. 505, his empire extended from the borders of India to the *Ægæan* Sea, including Thrace and Macedonia.

Meanwhile *Histiæos* drew upon himself the suspicion of trying to form for himself an independent principality in Thrace; and Darius, to thwart this scheme, invited him to come to Persia, pretending that it was his desire to have such a valuable friend near his person. But *Histiæos* soon discovered that in reality he was kept in Persia as a captive. He could discover no means of escaping except by an insurrection of his countrymen, for which there appeared just then a favourable opportunity.

The assistance of his cousin *Aristagoras* had been sought by the aristocratic party of the island of *Naxos*,

who had been expelled by the people ; and believing that this circumstance afforded him a fair chance of making himself master of the island, he applied for aid to Artaphernes, the king's satrap or governor of Western Asia. The satrap being told that the island might easily be conquered, and that Aristagoras would bear all the expenses, a large fleet under a Persian admiral was placed at the disposal of Aristagoras, and all seemed to promise well. But soon a quarrel arose between Aristagoras and the admiral, and the latter avenged himself by giving the Naxians warning of their danger. The consequence was the utter failure of the undertaking, and Aristagoras had to return to Miletus without having effected anything. As he was now unable to make good his promise, he knew that his doom was sealed. While pondering what he should do to save himself, he received a message from Histiaëos, who was utterly disgusted with his captivity. Aristagoras assembled all those whom he knew to be dissatisfied with the rule of Persia, to deliberate about the manner in which they might shake off the detested yoke ; and in order to make himself popular among his countrymen, he not only resigned his own tyrannis, but caused the tyrants of other cities who were friendly to Persia to be arrested.

Having gone thus far, Aristagoras resolved to seek the assistance of the Greeks of the mother country. He first applied to Sparta, where by large promises he was on the point of gaining his end, when the king, warned by his little daughter, declined having anything to do with the matter. He was more successful at Athens, where it had become known that the Persian king intended to reinstate the exiled tyrant Hippias. The Athenian people resolved to send a fleet of twenty ships to support their Asiatic kinsmen. The little squadron, accompanied by five galleys from Eretria in Eubœa, set sail in B.C. 499, and being strengthened on their arrival in Asia by many Ionians, they marched straightway against Sardes. The Persian governor of the place took refuge in the strong citadel. The Greeks then plundered the lower

city and set it on fire, and being unable to take the citadel, they returned to Ephesus. Contrary to their expectations, they were pursued by the Persian satrap, who had assembled a large force, and utterly defeated them in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, whereupon the Ionians dispersed, and the Athenians and Eretrians returned home.

When Darius was informed of this, he was thrown into a violent passion, more on account of the presumption of the obscure strangers who had supported his rebellious subjects than by anything else, and he commanded one of his slaves daily to remind him of the Athenians. Meanwhile the insurrection of the Ionians was spreading more and more; and Histæos cunningly prevailed upon the king to send him down to Ionia, which he promised to quiet without difficulty. The Persian generals reduced the revolted cities one after another; and when Aristagoras despaired of success, he withdrew into Thrace, where soon afterwards he was murdered. Histæos, on his arrival in Asia Minor, was suspected of having had a hand in the revolt, and hence thought it advisable to escape to the island of Chios, where he formed the plan of putting himself at the head of the Greeks; but being universally distrusted, he led for a time the life of a homeless adventurer. At last he collected a small fleet with which he levied black-mail on all the merchant ships of the cities which refused to recognise him as the sovereign of Ionia.

The rebellion of the Ionians was in the meantime drawing to its close. The Greeks were disunited among themselves, and were defeated in B.C. 494; and the year following saw all the Greek cities brought back under the Persian sway, but in some instances the inhabitants, from fear of the conquerors, left their homes and established themselves at Mesembria on the coast of the Euxine.

After this unsuccessful insurrection, the Asiatic Greeks were treated with much greater severity than before; order and peace were restored, but their freedom was

gone. Mardonius, the successor of Artaphernes, however, somewhat relaxed the severity, but at the same time he had orders to chastise Athens and Eretria for their presumption. A large fleet was sent out against them, but was overtaken by a violent storm near Mount Athos, in which 300 ships and 20,000 men are said to have perished ; while the land army, commanded by Mardonius himself, was attacked on its march through Thrace, and suffered such great losses that Mardonius thought it best to return to Asia. These disasters, however, did not shake the determination of Darius. He assembled fresh forces and sent heralds to the chief cities of Greece to demand earth and water, the customary signs of submission. At Athens and Sparta the envoys were put to death, but Ægina and several other islands and cities complied with the demand, in consequence of which the Athenians charged Ægina at Sparta with high treason against the cause of Greece. The Spartans then sent a force against the Æginetans, who were compelled to deliver up ten of their leading men as hostages to the Athenians. This led to a succession of acts of hostility between Athens and Ægina, while the Persians were making preparations for invading Europe.

In B.C. 490 a large Persian fleet assembled in Kilikia under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and having taken the army on board, sailed towards Eubœa, compelling the islands during its progress to submission. On the arrival of the Persians at Eretria, the town was besieged, and as some traitors in the place opened the gates to the enemy, Eretria was plundered and set on fire, while its inhabitants were taken prisoners and transported as slaves into Asia.

After this the whole fleet, guided by Hippias, sailed towards the coast of Attika, and the army was landed on the plain of *Marathon*. As soon as this became known at Athens, all men capable of bearing arms, and even slaves willing to earn their liberty, declared their readiness to defend the country. A messenger was at the same time sent to Sparta to solicit assistance against the common

foe. But the Spartans, feeling themselves pretty secure, dismissed him with promises of future help, alleging some superstitious reason for their not setting out at once. The Athenians, undismayed by this want of sympathy, resolved to attack the invaders, having no other allies than a body of Plataeans, their ancient friends. The army was commanded by ten generals, one of whom was *Miltiades*, but the polemarchus *Kallimachos* was at their head. A discussion arose among them as to whether battle should be given at once, or whether they should wait for the arrival of the Spartans. *Miltiades*, seeing the danger of delay, convinced his colleagues of the necessity of attacking the enemy at once. When the signal was given, the Athenians rushed with irresistible force upon the barbarians, who at first looked with contempt upon the small number of their assailants. But they soon found themselves in close combat, and by the skilful management of *Miltiades* they were utterly routed and defeated. They fled in the utmost confusion back to the shore, and thousands of them perished either in the battle, or in the marshes, or in the attempt to reach their ships. The Persian fleet then sailed southward, with the intention of doubling Cape Sunion and attacking *Attika* from the west. But the Athenians, who had foreseen this, promptly moved towards the point of danger, so that when the Persian fleet arrived, the Athenians were ready to receive the enemy. Thus baffled in their expectation, they gave up all further attempts against Greece and returned to Asia, B.C. 490.

The battle of Marathon, in which the Athenians almost single-handed had defeated a countless host of barbarians, filled their minds with a noble and just pride, and made them conscious of their own strength. When the battle was over, the Spartans arrived with a small force, but it was too late, and they had to return home with a feeling of shame that they had not done their duty, and had no share in the glorious achievement which saved Greece from becoming a province of an Asiatic despotism. The fate of *Miltiades*, who had led

his army to victory, was a sad one, but probably not undeserved. Elated by his success, he prevailed upon his countrymen to furnish him with a considerable fleet with which he promised to increase their dominions. But his real object was the chastisement of some private enemy. In this he failed, and being moreover wounded in the knee, he was obliged to return home without having effected anything. Being accused of having led the people into useless expenses, he was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents (about £9000); and as he was unable to raise that sum, he was thrown into prison where soon after he died of his wound.

The defeat sustained by the Persians at Marathon only incited their king to greater exertions, for he believed that the misfortune was owing only to his having sent insufficient forces into Europe; he therefore now resolved to make the Greeks feel the whole weight of his arm. For three years preparations were made throughout his vast dominions, when suddenly his attention was diverted by an insurrection of Egypt, which was then a Persian province, and before he was able to suppress the revolt, he died in B.C. 486. He was succeeded by his son Xerxes, who managed to reduce Egypt in the second year of his reign. A fresh invasion of Greece was now resolved upon, and the whole of Asia was again ransacked for a period of four years, to assemble as large a force as possible. A bridge of boats was constructed across the Hellespont, and a canal was dug across the low isthmus of Mount Athos, to avoid the necessity of sailing round the promontory where the fleet of Mardonius had been wrecked.

In the spring of B.C. 480, Xerxes set out from Sardes with an army consisting, it is said, of nearly 2,000,000 of men, including nations of all colours, costumes, arms, and languages. They crossed the Hellespont at Abydos, and marched along the coast through Thrace and Macedonia, towards Thessaly; while the fleet, consisting of 1207 triremes, and 3000 smaller vessels, sailed along the same coast accompanying the army.

All true patriots felt that their safety depended upon union ; but nearly all the northern states, partly overawed by fear, and partly compelled by their ruling nobles, submitted to the demands of the enemy. The Phokians and the Bœotian towns of Thespiæ and Plataeæ alone remained faithful to the cause of Greece. Athens and Sparta, however, with the greater part of the Peloponnesians, exerted themselves to the utmost to meet the impending danger. The leading man in Athens then was *Themistokles*, distinguished for his extraordinary quickness in perceiving what had to be done in any given emergency, to ensure a definite end. His rival in popularity was *Aristides*, a man who by his honesty and disinterestedness had obtained the surname of the Just. Both men loved their country intensely, but *Aristides*'s love was pure and simple, while *Themistokles* wished to make Athens great in order that he himself might command in a large sphere. Two such men could not but come into collision with each other ; and in B.C. 483, *Themistokles* contrived to get *Aristides* banished by ostracism, whereby he was left in the undivided possession of the popular favour. *Themistokles*, seeing the necessity of increasing the Athenian navy, prevailed upon the people to forego the advantages they received from the silver mines of Laurion, and to devote them to the strengthening of their navy. The number of their ships of war was thereby increased to 200 ; and, under the guidance of its able leader, Athens became a maritime power.

While the two leading states were making every effort to meet the enemy, the want of union among the rest of the Greeks was most deplorable. *Themistokles* spared no trouble to silence disputes and brace the energy of his countrymen ; and it was owing to his influence that the friends of liberty assembled at Korinth, where they bound themselves by an oath to defend their country and to consecrate to the Delphic god a tenth of the substance of every state which had surrendered to the enemy without being forced by necessity. A small band of Peloponnesians was sent to stop the progress of the Persians in

the pass of *Thermopylæ* ; and the fleet, commanded by Eurybiades, took up a position at the northern entrance of the Eubœan channel, near a place called *Artemision*.

The Persian fleet in its southward course was overtaken by a violent storm which lasted for three days, during which 400 ships and innumerable lives were lost. However, this disaster was scarcely felt by the huge armada, and Themistokles with difficulty prevented the Greek fleet from dispersing. But at length the Greeks boldly sailed out to attack the enemy, and a general engagement ensued, in which the unwieldy mass of the enemy's ships was thrown into confusion and sustained great loss. The Greeks, however, also suffered much, and they now resolved to retreat, because news reached them about what had happened at *Thermopylæ*.

The small band which had been sent there to bar the progress of the Persians, was commanded by the Spartan king, *Leonidas*. His whole force consisted of 300 Spartans, and a few thousands from other parts of Greece. There was, however, a path across the mountain by which the pass could be evaded, which fact was at first unknown to *Leonidas*. But when it was discovered, he despatched the Phokians to occupy the heights. He had great difficulty in keeping the rest of his men together, for they were terrified at the countless hosts of barbarians ; and Xerxes was not a little astonished, when he heard that the small number of Greeks were awaiting his attack in all composure. But assault after assault proved fruitless ; many of the barbarians were slain, and Xerxes was beginning to despair, when Ephialtes, a treacherous Greek, betrayed to him the path across the mountains. When *Leonidas* heard of this, he allowed his allies, who wished it, to depart ; but he himself and his Spartans were determined to defend their post. Only the Thespians and 400 Thebans remained with him. When the Persians appeared on the heights, the Phokians withdrew ; and soon after the Persians appeared at the southern entrance of the pass, so that the Greeks in it were surrounded on all sides. *Leonidas*, however and his men

were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Several times the Persians were repulsed, until at last the Spartans, being surrounded on a hillock, were all slain by the darts of their assailants. All were afterwards buried on the spot where they had fallen, and a suitable inscription recorded their heroism. The battle of Thermopylæ was fought in the summer of B.C. 480, and the Persians are said to have lost 20,000 men.

The hostile army now advanced southward, devastating everything that came in its way. The temple of Delphi, the treasures of which attracted the barbarians, is said to have been miraculously saved, for a fearful thunderstorm burst upon them, and huge rocks rolling down from Mount Parnassus crushed many of them, in consequence of which they were terror-stricken and retraced their steps. The army then proceeded through Bœotia towards Attika; and the Athenians, who had in vain hoped for assistance from Peloponnesus, on the suggestion of Themistokles, sent to consult the god of Delphi as to what they should do. The answer of the god was, that they must defend themselves behind their wooden walls. This mysterious advice gave rise to many conjectures as to its meaning, but Themistokles of course had no difficulty in explaining the oracle, and told the people that they must defend themselves by their fleet. This explanation satisfied the people, and the Athenians with their allies sailed from Artemision to Salamis. On the advice of Themistokles, the Athenians further resolved to leave their city to the protection of Athena, its tutelary divinity, and to transport their families and movable property to Salamis, Ægina, and Troezen.

The Greek fleet assembled at Salamis consisted of 380 ships, and it was the almost unanimous opinion that it should take up a position near the isthmus, where it might co-operate with the Peloponnesian army. But Themistokles, being convinced that the safest plan was to receive the hostile fleet in the narrow strait of Salamis, and finding that his arguments had no effect, at last threatened that he and all Athenians would sail away

and establish themselves in another country. This threat produced some effect, but as he still feared lest the Peloponnesians should change their minds, he resolved to bring on the decisive contest as soon as possible. He assumed the mask of a traitor, and sent a trusty slave to the Persian admiral, to tell him that the Greeks were on the point of dispersing, and that, if he attacked them at once, he would gain an easy and complete victory; whereas, if he allowed them to disperse, he would have to fight against them one by one. This stratagem succeeded, and the following night the channels which separate Salamis from Attika and Megara were blocked up by the Persian fleet. In the meantime Xerxes had overrun Attika, spreading devastation over the whole country. The lower part of the city of Athens was taken and destroyed, and the few men stationed in the akropolis were easily overpowered, and the place was set fire to. It was the terrible sight of these devastations that made the Greek commanders doubt the propriety of remaining united at Salamis; but the ruse of Themistokles forced them to fight before they had time to disperse.

When the enormous fleet of the enemy had entered the channels, and was pent up in such a manner that the ships could hardly move, the Greeks began the attack. Xerxes, seated on a lofty throne on the coast, was viewing the great naval contest, expecting to witness the complete annihilation of the Greeks. But he was soon undeceived. The confusion among the Persian ships became so great that it was impossible to distinguish friends from foes, while the nimble triremes of the Greeks performed marvels of skill and bravery. The battle lasted the whole day, until towards evening the remainder of the Persian fleet withdrew to the port of Phaleron. The barbarians are said to have lost on that day 500 ships, and the Greeks only forty. Xerxes, though he still had a sufficient force to continue the contest, felt that such another defeat would be ruinous, and accordingly resolved to retreat; but he left behind him Mardonius, who, with his land army of 300,000 men,

promised speedily to conquer the whole of Greece. Xerxes himself now prepared to return across the Hellespont.

When the Persian fleet quitted the Saronic gulf and sailed northward, the Athenians, not considering it safe to pursue the enemy, contented themselves with chastising the islands which had supported the invaders; and Themistokles hurried the king's flight, by sending a messenger to inform him that the Greeks intended to break down the bridge across the Hellespont. When the king arrived at Sestos, the bridge had already been destroyed by storms, but the fleet carried him and his followers safely into Asia. Mardonius had accompanied his master as far as Thessaly, where he intended to take up his winter quarters. The fame of Themistokles, whose wisdom and prudence had gained the victory of Salamis, resounded through all Greece, and even the Spartans honoured him in the same way as their own admiral.

Soon after the battle of Salamis, which had been fought late in the summer of B.C. 480, the Athenians returned to their city, and in the spring began to rebuild their houses, and to repair the damage done to their fields; but at the same time they did not lose sight of the enemy, for they knew that Mardonius with his army was still in Thessaly, and that a large fleet was still in the Ægean. Mardonius formed a plan to detach Athens from the other Greeks, by offering a separate peace and alliance with Persia. But the manly answer of the Athenians was, that so long as the sun held on its course there could be no alliance between them and Persia. Mardonius thereupon marched southward, and was zealously supported by the Thessalians and Bœotians. On his approach the Athenians again left their city, and withdrew with their families to Salamis. Mardonius again tried to negotiate with them, but with no better result than before. The Spartans, instead of joining Athens against the common enemy, at first thought only of protecting themselves by fortifying the isthmus of Korinth, but at length *Pausanias*, the guardian of the

young king, Pleistarchos, was ordered to lead an army of 5000 men into Bœotia. Mardonius, after having ravaged Attika in every direction, likewise marched into Bœotia, where he hoped to be supported by the Thebans and other Bœotians.

The Greek army had in the meantime, it is said, been raised to 110,000 men, and the Athenian forces were commanded by *Aristides*, who had been recalled from his honourable exile. For many days the armies were facing each other, engaging only in petty skirmishes and manœuvres. At last Mardonius resolved to venture upon a decisive battle. The Greeks having received secret information of his design, prepared for the fight in the neighbourhood of *Plataeæ*. In this battle, which took place in B.C. 479, the Persians at first fought bravely, but Mardonius was mortally wounded, and his fall decided the issue of the contest. The Persians gave way at once, and a body which was coming to their support, hastily returned northward to gain the Hellespont; the Greek auxiliaries dispersed, and only the Bœotians continued to fight against the Athenians. The Persians at last shut themselves up in their camp, and despair paralysed them to such a degree, that they allowed themselves to be slaughtered without a struggle, and only 3000 of them are said to have escaped alive. An immense amount of booty was found in their camp, which Pausanias, the hero of the day, ordered to be collected; a tenth part of it was dedicated to the gods, and a splendid present was selected for Pausanias.

The Persians who had fled to the Hellespont reached Asia in safety, and Greece was now completely delivered from its foreign invaders. The next step was the chastisement of those Greeks who had supported the enemy. The Greek army accordingly advanced to the gates of Thebes, demanding the surrender of the guilty, and as the demand was refused, the city was blockaded for twenty days, after which the offenders surrendered themselves, and most of them were ordered by Pausanias to be put to death without a trial. This was his first arbitrary and tyrannical act, which was soon to be followed by others.

In the meantime the Greek fleet under the Spartan king, *Leotychides*, was stationed among the Kyklades, watching the movements of the enemy. Its assistance was sought by the Samians against their own tyrant, a zealous supporter of Persia. When *Leotychides* approached, the Persians, leaving their friend unprotected, sailed towards the mainland, where they joined the land army stationed near Mount *Mykale*, to keep the Ionians in subjection. The Greeks pursued them, and called upon the Ionians to cast off the Persian yoke. A battle ensued, in which the Asiatics were completely routed, and the carnage among them was fearful. The Greeks, after collecting the booty, returned to Samos. The battle of *Mykale* was fought and won on the same day as that of *Platææ*.

As Greece and the islands were now safe, it was thought advisable for the present to let the Ionians in Asia make the best terms they could with Persia, and *Leotychides* with the Peloponnesians sailed home; but the Athenian fleet, under the command of *Xanthippos*, sailed to the north, and laid siege to *Sestos*, where many Persians of rank were living. In the spring of B.C. 478 they were induced by famine to try to make their escape, but many of them were overtaken and put to death, whereupon the inhabitants opened their gates, and *Xanthippos* with his fleet now likewise sailed home.

The city of Athens had been changed into a heap of ruins, and the first care of those returning home was to rebuild their private houses, the restoration of the temples being deferred to another season. The leading men, *Themistokles* and *Aristides*, being resolved to provide for the immediate and future security of the city, ordered the walls to be rebuilt and extended. The Spartans, looking with jealousy upon the new fortifications of Athens, tried to stop its progress by intimating that Peloponnesus would always be a sufficiently safe refuge for all Greeks, if their country should ever be invaded again. But *Themistokles*, who saw through their selfish scheme, thwarted it in a very ingenious manner, and not

only completed the fortifications of the city and its three harbours, but made Peiræus a port town, where numerous traders and merchants, especially aliens, settled under the protection of the Athenian law. Athens thus went forth from the great war stronger than before, and conscious of her position and power.

In the spring of B.C. 477, the Greek fleet sailed to Kyprus, which was still in the hands of the Persians. Its chief command was intrusted to *Pausanias*, while the Athenian contingent was led by *Aristides* and *Kimon*, the son of *Miltiades*. The barbarians were driven from the island, and the fleet then sailed to Byzantium, which the Persians were likewise compelled to evacuate. These successes seem to have turned the head of *Pausanias*, for he now began to adopt the manners of the Persians, and treated his Greek allies with overbearing insolence. He even went so far as to form the plan of betraying Greece into the hands of the Persians, and to ask for the hand of *Xerxes's* daughter as a reward. The Greeks, especially the Ionians, were the more disgusted with his conduct, as it formed a strong contrast with the kindly and winning proceedings of the Athenian commanders. This feeling gradually led the Greeks to the resolution to place Athens in the position hitherto occupied by Sparta, and at last all the allies, except the Peloponnesians and *Ægine-tans*, offered to Athens the supremacy in all their common affairs. They accordingly formed a *confederacy with Athens as its head*, the object being the protection of Greece against the barbarians. All the members of the confederacy were to contribute towards this common end, and Athens was authorised to collect and direct their forces. In its internal affairs, however, each state remained independent. A common fund was established in the island of *Delos*, and deputies from all the confederates were to meet periodically there in the temple of *Apollo*. Sparta thus lost her ancient position through the folly of *Pausanias*, who was indeed now recalled, and in disgust she withdrew from the scene of action, leaving her rival triumphant. But she still remained

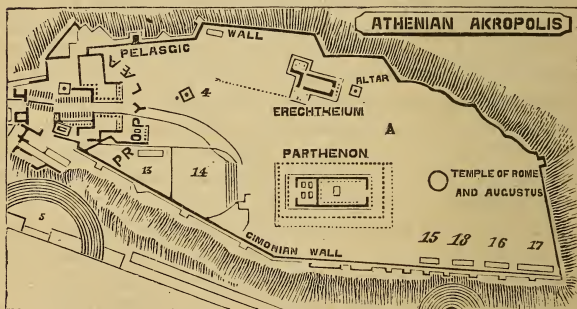
the head of the Peloponnesian allies, so that henceforth Greece was divided into two great confederacies. Athens maintained her proud position for about seventy-two years, until the end of the Peloponnesian war.

The organisation of the Athenian confederacy was the last and noblest work of *Aristides*, but he is also said to have been the author of some important political reforms, by which the archonship and the council of the Areiopagos were thrown open to all Athenians, irrespective of any property qualification. He died in the enjoyment of the full confidence which his countrymen had always placed in him.

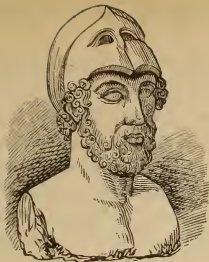
Very different was the fate of *Pausanias* and *Themistokles*. The former, after his recall to Sparta, was subjected to a severe inquiry; but as no satisfactory evidence of his guilt was produced, the accusation was dropped. He then went to Byzantium, where he carried on his intrigues with Persia so openly that the authorities felt obliged again to order him to return home. As again he could not be convicted, he was set free, and now tried to incite the Helots to a rebellion. At the same time he continued his treasonable correspondence with Persia, until at last he was denounced by one of his own slaves. When by a cunning contrivance the magistrates succeeded in hearing the truth from his own lips, they tried to arrest him; but he fled into a temple of Athena, and the magistrates, in order not to pollute the sanctuary with blood, ordered the entrance to be walled up, and left him there to be starved to death. When he was on the point of expiring, he was carried out of the temple and died outside the sacred precincts, in B.C. 461.

The fate of *Pausanias* involved that of *Themistokles*. He too had become proud and indiscreet; but what made him most unpopular was his selfishness and avarice, of which some signs had appeared immediately after the battle of Salamis. Numerous enemies therefore rose against him, and he was banished by ostracism as a person dangerous to popular liberty. He withdrew to Argos, where he was residing at the time when *Pausanias*

was convicted. The Spartans, who bore him a grudge ever since the fortification of Athens, alleged that in their inquiry about Pausanias, it had been found that Themistokles also was implicated in the plot, and they demanded that the Athenians should punish him accordingly. Although no evidence was then or ever after produced of his guilt, his enemies at Athens carried a decree that he should be arrested. Themistokles fled to Epirus, and thence to Pydna, where he took ship for Asia. Soon after his arrival there, Xerxes died, B.C. 465, and was succeeded by Artaxerxes. Themistokles went to the king's court, and succeeded in persuading him that he had claims upon his gratitude, and that his present misfortune was the consequence of his zeal for the interests of Persia. He became a great favourite at the court, and the king at last sent him down into Asia Minor, assigning to him the revenues of three wealthy towns for his maintenance. He thus spent the last years of his life in princely splendour. The manner of his death is uncertain.



PLAN OF AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



PERIKLES.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS DOWN TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

AFTER the withdrawal of Themistokles, *Kimon* was the most influential man in Athens. He belonged to the aristocratic party, but did not scruple to descend to the artifices of a demagogue, in order to increase his popularity; and his wealth enabled him to display a lavish liberality towards the poorer classes. He was an excellent soldier, and had already distinguished himself in the battle of Salamis. Several successful enterprises, but more especially the reduction of Naxos in B.C. 466, subsequently increased his renown. For a time the Athenian confederacy went on prosperously, but the inhabitants of Naxos, seeing that Greece had nothing more to fear from Persia, refused to submit to the supremacy of Athens. Their town was besieged and conquered by Kimon, who treated it with the utmost severity; and instead of being an ally, it now became the subject of Athens. This example might have deterred other states, but such was not the case, and all who revolted were punished with the loss of their independence. Some of the allied states commuted their personal services for payments of money, but their fate was not much bettered thereby, for they lost their warlike spirit, and Athens acquired as much power over them as over her subjects.

In B.C. 465, Kimon gained a brilliant victory over a large Persian fleet stationed at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia; he then sailed up the river and also routed the enemy's land forces. On his return to the sea, he utterly destroyed a Persian squadron which was coming too late to strengthen the Persian fleet. After this treble victory, he sailed north and drove the last remnants of the Persians from the Thracian Chersonesus. While Kimon was in the north of the Ægæan, the Athenians became involved in a war with the island of *Thasos* about the gold mines in Thrace. The Thasians applied to Sparta for assistance, and the latter was making preparations for invading Attika, when suddenly, in B.C. 464, Lakonia was visited by a terrible calamity. During an earthquake, masses of rock rolling down from Mount Taygetos spread terror and devastation far and wide. In Sparta only five houses are said to have been left standing, and upwards of 20,000 persons were killed. Amid this terrible visitation, the Helots and Messenians seized the opportunity of avenging themselves upon their hard masters. The Thasians had, of course, to be left to their fate, and became the subjects of Athens. The *Messenians* fortified themselves on Mount Ithome, and as the Spartans were unable to reduce them, they did not blush to send for assistance to Athens, against which they had just been preparing an expedition. The aristocratic party at Athens was at all times favourable to Sparta, and as it was just then all powerful, Kimon was sent out with a large force to besiege Ithome. But as he was not more successful than the Spartans themselves had been, they began to suspect his honesty, and dismissed him with his army. The Athenians, feeling this insult most keenly, broke off all connection with Sparta, and formed an alliance with Argos. Meanwhile the war against the Messenians was carried on for nearly ten years, until, in B.C. 455, they were compelled to surrender on condition that they should leave their country for ever. The Athenians kindly assigned to the unfortunate exiles the town of Naupaktos, where they settled, waiting for better times.

The democratic party at Athens was then headed by *Perikles*, a son of *Xanthippos*, who as an orator, statesman, and general far surpassed all his contemporaries. While *Kimon* was engaged in his military expeditions, *Perikles* took an active part in the discussions of the popular assembly. He became the leader of the demos, and a formidable opponent of *Kimon* and his brother nobles. *Perikles*, even if he had had the wealth of *Kimon*, would have disdained using it to increase his popularity. He considered it more honourable that the poorer classes should be supplied with the means of enjoyment out of their own, than to be dependent on wealthy nobles. He and his friends, among whom the honest *Ephialtes* deserves to be specially mentioned, carried a series of measures which enabled the poor to take part in public life and public enjoyments. He courted, indeed, popular favour, but never descended to low or demagogic expedients.

The contest between the two parties had been going on for some time, but it came to a head when *Perikles* and *Ephialtes* tried to limit the functions of the *Areiopagos* so much as to leave to it nothing but its venerable name. The aristocracy was, of course, most bitterly exasperated, but as just at this time *Kimon* was slighted by *Sparta*, he and the whole aristocracy became very unpopular, and the measure of reducing the power of the *Areiopagos* was easily carried. Soon after this, *Kimon* was banished by ostracism.

About the year B.C. 460, an Athenian fleet was lying off *Kyprus*, when *Inarus* and a great part of *Egypt* revolted against *Persia*. *Inarus* asked for the assistance of the Athenian fleet, which at once sailed southward and enabled him to defeat the *Persians*. The fleet then sailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis*, which the Athenians besieged for five years, after which they were compelled by large *Persian* reinforcements to withdraw, and being surrounded in an island of the river, they were nearly all slain.

While the Athenian fleet was still engaged in *Egypt*,

the rupture with Sparta involved Athens in a war with Corinth, which was joined by Ægina and several Argive towns. Notwithstanding the absence of their forces in Egypt, the Athenians attacked their enemies with undaunted courage, and utterly defeated them. *Myronides*, who was then the soul of all the military undertakings of the Athenians, gained so complete a victory over the Corinthians that their whole army was destroyed. This Korinthian war and the hostile spirit of Sparta, together with the fact that there existed at Athens a party ready to play into the hands of any enemy, if they could thereby recover their lost privileges, induced Perikles to complete the long walls connecting Athens with the port of Peiræus, which had been commenced before; and it soon became evident how necessary it was to strengthen Athens in every way. In an engagement against the Bœotians, the Athenians were defeated through the treachery of their Thessalian allies; but this loss was amply repaid a year later, B.C. 456, when *Myronides* gained a complete victory over the Bœotians and razed the walls of Tanagra to the ground. From this time the influence of Athens predominated in Bœotia; and Ægina soon afterwards became subject to Athens.

About this time news reached Athens of the disaster in Egypt, but she nevertheless continued the war against Sparta and its allies as vigorously as before. In B.C. 453, Perikles himself effected the recall of *Kimon* from exile; he saw the necessity of all true patriots uniting against the schemes of the oligarchical faction, for it was at this time that his friend *Ephialtes*, a man of the sternest honesty, was assassinated. The reconciliation of the two men secured to Greece the enjoyment of peace for the next three years, after which a truce for five years was concluded, during which *Kimon* undertook his last campaign against the Persians. In Egypt another revolt had broken out, and again the Athenians were asked to send succour. *Kimon* with a considerable fleet sailed to Cyprus, whence he sent a detachment to Egypt, while

he himself laid siege to Kition. During this siege, in B.C. 449, he died ; and his forces were compelled by want of provisions to stop the operation. On their return home they gained victories by sea and by land over large bodies of Persians, and then being joined by the detachment which had accomplished its object in Egypt, they all sailed home.

In B.C. 448, the peace of Greece was disturbed by a quarrel between the Delphians and Phokians about the guardianship of the temple of Delphi, which had belonged to the Delphians from time immemorial, but had been wrested from them by the Phokians. With the help of Sparta the Delphians recovered what had been lost. But no sooner had the Spartan forces withdrawn, than Perikles marched with an army into Phokis and restored the guardianship of the temple to the Phokians. In the year following, the Athenian influence in Bœotia was destroyed by a revolution in which the party hostile to Athens gained the upper hand.

When, in B.C. 445, the five years' truce expired, Eubœa and Megara rose against Athens ; and while Perikles was engaged in quelling the insurrection in Eubœa, he learned that a Peloponnesian army had invaded Attika and was ravaging the country. By bribes he induced the Spartans to quit Attika, whereby he was enabled to complete the reduction of Eubœa. All parties seem now to have become tired of war ; and wishing for peace, they concluded, in B.C. 445, a truce which was to last for thirty years. In it the Athenians gave up their possessions in Peloponnesus, but their maritime empire remained undisputed. This truce was distasteful to the Athenian aristocracy, which was then headed by *Thukydides*, but Perikles bore down all opposition, for his power was now greater than ever. He was now in a condition to carry out his design of strengthening the Athenian empire and of raising the confidence and self-respect of his countrymen to a level with their lofty position. The Athenian confederacy was no longer what it had been in the days of Aristides. Even in his lifetime, the common treasury

had been transferred from Delos to Athens; those of the confederates who had revolted had been reduced to the condition of subjects, and the remaining states had been so much weakened, that Athens, from being the head of a confederacy, had become the mistress of an empire, over which she ruled with almost despotic power. Perikles raised the annual tribute of the allies from 400 to 600 talents, and all subject states had to adopt a democratic constitution; but what was still more inconvenient and annoying to them, was the fact that all important law-suits were transferred from their local courts to the tribunals at Athens.

In B.C. 440, Perikles had an opportunity of displaying his brilliant qualities as a military commander. The island of *Samos* was governed by its aristocracy, which the demos was desirous to overthrow with the help of Athens. Perikles, who was sent out with a fleet to accomplish this object, at once established a democratic government, and sent 100 members of the aristocracy as hostages to Lemnos. Leaving a small garrison behind, he returned home. But during his absence some nobles, with the help of mercenaries, overpowered the new government, restored the old constitution, rescued the hostages, and renounced all connection with Athens. On hearing this, Perikles again set out with a fleet, drove the Samians into their town and blockaded it. Knowing that a Persian fleet was expected to support the Samians, he sailed out to meet it, but it did not make its appearance. On his return to Samos he found that his adversaries had gained some advantages, but his presence soon changed the aspect of things, and after the war had lasted for nine months, the Samians were compelled to capitulate and became subjects of Athens. This event consolidated the Athenian empire, over which Athens henceforth ruled without opposition and without restraint.

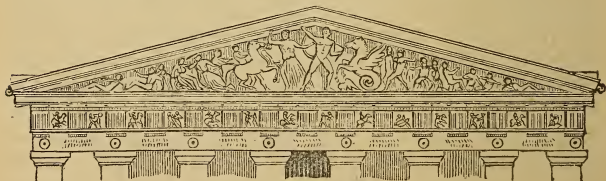
Athens was now in a condition to strengthen herself, and to provide for her poorer citizens by the foundation of new colonies, where they might be useful to her. The

position to which her citizens had risen filled them with a feeling of pride; the Athenian franchise was highly valued, and every one not entitled to it was rigorously excluded. The poorer classes, moreover, found profitable employment, partly in the great architectural works which Perikles caused to be erected for the defence or embellishment of the city, and partly by their being trained for the navy. Among the architectural works we have already noticed the long walls; but the temples which adorned the akropolis, such as the *Parthenon*, with its splendid approach, the *Propylea*, decorated with the masterworks of sculpture by Pheidias, still excite in their ruined state the admiration of the whole of the civilised world. Perikles also knew that a people cannot be truly happy without reasonable diversions and amusements; he therefore provided the poorer classes, out of the public funds, with the means of attending the theatre and taking part in the public festivals. He also introduced the practice of paying jurors for their attendance in the courts of law. These regulations, at first perhaps fair and just, afterwards became detrimental to the state, especially when the amount of money thus spent was increased by subsequent popular leaders.

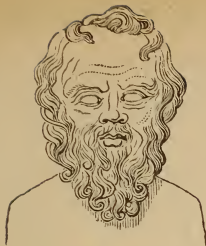
The period during which Perikles guided the destiny of Athens forms the most brilliant epoch in her history. Down to the time of the Persian wars, Athens had not been distinguished in any way above other Greek cities, but the victories she won in those wars stimulated the energy of her citizens, and rendered them capable of producing the most wonderful works in art and literature which the world has ever seen. At the time when lyric poetry was gradually dying away, Athens enriched literature with the drama, the highest and most complex of all poetical compositions, and the greatest dramatists in tragedy and comedy belong to the age of Perikles. The first impulse was given by *Phrynichos*, but the real father of tragedy was *Æschylos*, of whom seven pieces have come down to our time. His younger contemporary, *Sophokles*, is unsurpassed in the charm of his language and the

general harmony of his conceptions. He was succeeded by *Euripides*, who, though inferior as a poet, supplanted him in popular favour. With these masters tragedy was not a mere amusement, but a means employed for religious, moral, and sometimes even political purposes, though the last was more especially the case in comedy, which enjoyed unbounded license, and reached its highest development through the genius of *Aristophanes*, in the time of the Peloponnesian war. Prose literature in Greece, as in all other countries, was cultivated later than poetry.

Perikles, like all great men, had to make the sad experience that mankind is prone to envy, jealousy, and hatred. Rumours and suspicions were spread, not only regarding his private life, but also in reference to his public acts. The first attempts to hurt him consisted in attacks on his dearest friends; but he himself also was assailed, and his enemies charged him with having embezzled a portion of the gold destined to be employed in the magnificent statue of Athena; but he silenced his accusers, by having the gold taken from the statue and weighed, when it was found that nothing was wanting. Pheidias was accused of having introduced his own portrait among the figures on the shield of the goddess, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison. Having been successful in this case, the enemies of Perikles tried others, but their machinations failed, and in despair they at last dropped their proceedings. Perikles was never again molested, and maintained his high position as head of the republic down to the end of his life.



PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON.



HEAD OF SOCRATES.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

ALTHOUGH a truce of thirty years had been made in B.C. 445, it was evident that peace could not be maintained long, for the ever-growing power and influence of Athens filled the other states, and especially Sparta, with jealousy and hatred. These feelings kept Sparta and her allies in close union, while Athens could scarcely depend upon the fidelity of her allies and subjects. Sparta, moreover, represented the Dorian and aristocratic interest; while Athens, an Ionian state, everywhere fostered democratic institutions. In this state of things, it only required a spark to set the whole country in a blaze of war. That spark came from an unexpected quarter, and the result was a war which lasted twenty-seven years, disturbed the peace of the whole of the Greek world, and ended in the downfall of Athens.

At *Epidamnos*, a colony of Kerkyra (Corcyra), in Illyricum, the aristocratic party, having been expelled by the demos, had obtained the assistance of a neighbouring tribe, and were attacking the town. The Epidamnians applied for help to their mother city, and as this was refused, they addressed themselves to Korinth, the mother city of Kerkyra. Korinth gladly seized the opportunity of punishing her colony which had neglected its duties towards her. A Korinthian army accordingly marched to Epidamnus, and the Kerkyraeans at the same time

sent out a fleet, demanding the restoration of the banished nobles, and the dismissal of all Korinthians from the town. As this was refused, the Kerkyraeans, joined by the exiles and others, blockaded Epidamnus. The Korinthians now declared war against Kerkyra. In a naval engagement near the mouth of the Ambrakian Gulf, they were completely defeated, and at the same time the Epidamnians had to surrender to the besiegers, who sold the inhabitants into slavery, and kept the Korinthians as prisoners of war. This happened in B.C. 434.

The Korinthians thereupon made every effort to strengthen themselves by new alliances, and the Kerkyraeans sent envoys to Athens to solicit assistance; but the Korinthians also sent ambassadors to counteract their enemies. After mature consideration Athens concluded a defensive alliance with Kerkyra, but did not declare war against Korinth. A small fleet accordingly was sent to Kerkyra with orders not to engage in any contest, unless Kerkyra should be attacked. The Korinthian and Kerkyraean fleets met near a place called Sybota, and when the Athenians saw their allies hard pressed, they took part in the fight, whereupon the Korinthians declared that the Athenians had broken the peace. These first acts of hostility between Athens and Korinth took place in B.C. 432.

While this was going on, Perdikkas, king of Macedonia, tried to incite the cities in the north of the Ægean to give up their alliance with Athens. One of these towns was *Potidæa*, a colony of Korinth, and the Athenians at once ordered its inhabitants to demolish their fortifications and to give hostages. Sparta declared that she would protect *Potidæa*, in consequence of which its inhabitants defied the orders sent from Athens. Several other towns followed their example. The Athenian fleet sent against them, finding itself too weak to carry on the war against the revolted cities, turned against Perdikkas. But the Athenian admiral was prevailed upon to make peace with the king, in order to be able to direct all his forces, which had in the meantime

been much increased, against the Korinthians and their friends. The Korinthians were indeed defeated, but succeeded in throwing themselves into Potidæa, which was now besieged by land and by sea.

Amid these complications a congress of the Spartan allies was summoned to Sparta, and all states believing themselves to be unjustly treated by Athens, were invited to state their grievances. Many complaints were brought forward, but the Athenian envoys manfully defended the conduct of their countrymen. The result, however, was that war was declared, in B.C. 432; but Sparta, with its usual slowness, did not take any active steps till the year following. Some attempts at negotiation continued to be made, but to no purpose. The sympathies of most of the continental states were in favour of the Spartans, who declared themselves the champions of the liberty and independence of the Greeks. The allies of Sparta included all the Peloponnesians except Argos, and she was further supported by Megara, Phokis, Lokris, Bœotia, and in general by all Dorian cities. The allies of Athens were Chios, Lesbos, Plataeæ, the Messenians at Naupaktos, the greater part of Akarnania, Zakynthos, and Kerkyra, and they were of course supported by the Ionian cities in Asia, on the Hellespont and the coast of Thrace, and by most of the islands in the Ægean. All Greece was thus divided in two hostile camps, and both parties were making active preparations for the coming contest.

In B.C. 431, the Spartan king, Archidamos, invaded Attika with an army, and devastated the country in order to draw out the Athenians to a decisive battle. But Perikles was determined to maintain a defensive attitude, and towards the end of the summer Archidamos returned home and disbanded his army. In the meantime, however, the Athenian fleet had been retaliating by ravaging the coasts of Peloponnesus and Lokris, and in the autumn Perikles himself made a predatory inroad into Megara. During the first five years of the war both parties annually made such ravaging incursions into each

other's territories, and neither seems to have been inclined to bring the war to a close by some decisive action. The war was raging in several parts of Greece, and the Athenians generally had the advantage over their enemies.

Early in the following year, when Archidamos had again invaded Attika, a terrible plague broke out at Athens, which was then overcrowded with people from the country, who were seeking protection within its walls. 4000 citizens and 10,000 slaves were carried off by the pestilence, while the Lakedæmonians were ravaging the country for a period of forty days. But the Athenian fleet, as in the year before, made a ravaging tour round Peloponnesus, and Potidæa was compelled by famine to surrender. In the year B.C. 429, Athens lost her great leader Perikles, who fell a victim to the plague. What the people had lost in him became evident but too soon, for unprincipled demagogues, by humouring the evil passions of the people, demoralised them, and it became impossible to make any great efforts abroad, though Phormion, the Athenian admiral, gained some advantages in the western sea and compelled the Peloponnesian fleet to take refuge in the Korinthian gulf.

The Bœotian town of *Plataeæ*, even before the outbreak of the war, had been treacherously attacked one night by a body of Thebans, but by the quickness of the Plataeans nearly the whole band were taken prisoners, and many of them were put to death. Athens, the ancient friend of Plataeæ, supported the place as far as she could; but in the third year of the war, Archidamos, instead of invading Attika, directed all his forces against Plataeæ, whose inhabitants defended themselves with almost superhuman bravery, until, in B.C. 427, they were obliged to capitulate. All the male population was butchered, and the women were sold as slaves. This act of wanton cruelty was the work of the Thebans.

The fourth year of the war, Archidamos repeated the invasion of Attika, the Athenians still maintaining the defensive. The most important event of this year was

the revolt of the wealthy island of *Lesbos*, where the aristocratic party favoured Sparta, while the demos clung to the Athenian alliance. As remonstrance with the rebellious city of Mitylene produced no effect, a fleet was sent out against it. The Spartans promised help to the rebels, admitted them into the Peloponnesian confederacy, and resolved to attack Athens itself. But the promptness of the Athenians compelled them to abandon this undertaking. Meanwhile Mitylene was blockaded by the Athenian admiral Paches, and no Peloponnesian fleet appeared to its relief until B.C. 427, when the Spartans again ravaged Attika in the hope of thereby compelling Athens to withdraw her forces from Lesbos. But Mitylene was obliged to surrender before the Peloponnesian fleet arrived. When Paches was master of the island, he sent the ringleaders of the revolt to Athens, where it was to be decided what punishment should be inflicted upon the islanders. *Kleon*, a leather merchant, who was then the leader of the Athenian people, induced them to pass the bloody decree, that all the men should be put to death, and the women and children sold as slaves. Messengers were at once sent with this decree to Paches; but the Athenian people soon repented of their terrible order: the very next day the decree was reversed, and it was resolved to inflict death only on the most guilty. Another ship was therefore sent off and arrived just in time to save the unfortunate people of Mitylene. But Lesbos lost its freedom, and became subject to Athens.

The bitterest hatred had gradually arisen everywhere between the aristocratic and democratic parties, but nowhere was greater cruelty and ferocity displayed than at *Kerkyra*, whose prosperity was thereby destroyed for ever. Dorian and aristocracy, and Ionian and democracy had almost become synonymous. Hence we find even in Sicily the Dorian colonies headed by Syrakuse, arrayed against the Ionian towns; and the Athenians were prevailed upon by the Leontine orator Gorgias to send a fleet to Sicily, in B.C. 427, which was to prevent rein-

forcements being sent from the island to the Peloponnesians.

In the same year, the Spartans intended again to invade Attika, but, terrified by earthquakes, they abandoned the scheme, so that the Athenians were free to take the offensive against some of their enemies in the north and west; even in Sicily they gained possession of some important places. In the year following, the Peloponnesians indeed carried out their design of invading Attika; but after a stay of only fifteen days, they returned home, for they learned that *Demosthenes*, an able Athenian general, had established himself at Pylos in Messenia, and strongly fortified the place. The Spartan army was accordingly recalled from Attika, and several but fruitless attempts were made to recover Pylos. A body of Spartans then took possession of the island of *Sphakteria*, in front of the harbour of Pylos. All attacks of the Lakedæmonians were repelled, and the Spartans being blockaded in the barren island, would have been starved to death if provisions had not been smuggled into it by faithful slaves. In order to save her men, Sparta was ready to conclude a peace or a truce, but the terms proposed by Athens, which was then guided by Kleon, were such that Sparta could not accept them. The Athenians at Pylos also began to suffer from want of provisions; and Kleon boastfully declared in the assembly at Athens, that if he had the command he would bring the Spartans captive from *Sphakteria* to Athens. The Athenians, taking him at his word, appointed him commander. On his arrival at Pylos he found that matters had already been brought to a crisis by the skilful management of Demosthenes, and being further assisted by favourable circumstances, he drove the Spartans into a corner of the island and then compelled them to surrender. Nearly one-half of the men had perished in the island, and the survivors were carried as prisoners to Athens. The rash promise of Kleon was thus made good by accident.

The Athenians at Pylos, being joined by many Messenians and Helots, caused great annoyance to Sparta,

which tried to recover its captive citizens by negotiation, but without success; for the Athenians were exorbitant in their demands, and in the end declared that they would put them all to death if the Peloponnesians again invaded Attika. During this year the Athenians were also successful in other parts, and made themselves masters of the island of Kythera. These successes encouraged and emboldened them in the same proportion as they discouraged the Spartans, who now began to confine themselves to the defensive, while the Athenians continued their ravaging expeditions. In Sicily a peace was concluded with Athens, on the advice of the wise and patriotic Syrakusan, *Hermokrates*, who showed his countrymen that, by fighting against one another, they were only preparing the way for a foreign conqueror. But the Athenian people, in their belief that greater advantages might have been gained in Sicily, punished some of the generals who had consented to the peace.

The Spartans were at no time famous for kindness or affability, but there had arisen among them a man who combined these qualities with those of a great captain. That man was *Brasidas*. He first drove the Athenians from Megara, and then transferred the war to the peninsula of Chalkidike and the coast of Thrace, hoping thereby to compel the Athenians to give up Pylos and Kythera. While these plans were being carried out, the Athenians suffered a very severe defeat at *Delion* in Bœotia, whither they had been invited by a party of Bœotians favourable to them. Their loss amounted to more than 1000 of their best soldiers.

When Brasidas arrived in Macedonia, he was joined at once by the fickle King Perdikkas, and advancing into Chalkidike, he proclaimed himself the deliverer of the Greek towns from the tyranny of Athens. His winning manners captivated all, and made them desirous of joining the Spartan alliance; some towns declared themselves at once, and received Lakedæmonian garrisons. The success of Brasidas was immense, though he received little support from home. But as the Spartans were

bent upon recovering their captive fellow-citizens, a truce was concluded, in B.C. 423, which was to last for one year, and afford an opportunity of negotiating a permanent peace, of which both parties were desirous.

While the negotiations were going on, the Athenians in the north violated the truce by several acts of hostility; and at its expiration, in B.C. 422, Kleon undertook the command of the Athenian forces. After having gained some advantages, he met Brasidas, who had in the meantime received large reinforcements, near Amphipolis. When Kleon saw the enemy approach he retreated; and the Spartans perceiving this, fell upon the Athenians and routed them. Kleon himself took to flight, but being overtaken he was slain by a common soldier, while the Athenians bravely continued the fight, until in the end they were overcome. Brasidas had been mortally wounded in the first part of the engagement, and was carried from the field of battle to Amphipolis, where he died.

After the death of Brasidas, his policy was abandoned by the Spartans, who were resolved to make peace and liberate their prisoners. The recent losses had considerably lowered the pride of the Athenians, and *Nikias*, who now was their leading man, was in favour of peace. Negotiations were accordingly commenced, and in the spring of B.C. 421 the outlines of a peace were arranged. It was agreed by both parties that all conquests made during the war should be given back, that all the prisoners of war should be set free without ransom, and that the peace (commonly called the peace of *Nikias*;) should last for fifty years. In the same year, Sparta concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Athens, to protect herself against Argos, her ancient rival. The smaller states looked upon these arrangements with fear and suspicion, and it was only too evident that the peace could not last long.

For nearly seven years the Athenians and Spartans did abstain from invading each other's territories, but neither strictly adhered to the terms of the peace, and each of the

two states eagerly increased the number of its allies. *Argos* in the meantime put itself at the head of a new confederation, and declared itself in favour of Athens; while *Sparta* entered into a separate understanding with *Bœotia*. Amid these difficult complications, *Alkibiades*, still a young man, was fanning the warlike spirit of the Athenians. He belonged to an illustrious family, and his very eccentricities made him a favourite with the people. His feelings were those of an aristocrat, but his ambition led him to come forward as a popular leader. The alliance with *Argos*, which was to be both offensive and defensive, and to last for a hundred years, was mainly his work. The Athenians made use of this alliance for annoying *Sparta*; and in B.C. 418, *Argos*, incited by *Alkibiades*, went so far in her provocation that *Sparta* could endure it no longer. A war ensued, in which the *Argives* were completely defeated in a battle near *Mantineia*; but the aristocratic party at *Argos* soon after brought about a peace with *Sparta*, in which its former allies were given up. *Argos* and *Sparta* now increased the number of their allies as much as possible, and supported aristocratic governments wherever they could.

In B.C. 417, the democratic party at *Argos* again gained the upper hand, and renewed its connection with Athens. The year after, *Alkibiades* sailed with a fleet to *Argos*, and made 300 aristocrats his prisoners. Soon after this, the Doric island of *Melos*, declining to join the Athenian confederacy, was besieged and compelled to surrender at discretion. The Athenians, with the utmost cruelty, changed the island into a wilderness, and then peopled it again with new settlers. The *Spartans*, still keeping to the terms of the peace, did nothing to assist *Melos*, but events were occurring at a distance which rendered the maintenance of peace impossible.

We have already noticed that the Athenians were vexed with their generals who returned from Sicily without having made any conquests. After the death of *Perikles*, the demagogues, elated by the successes at home, made the people believe that they might accomplish any-

thing, if they only set resolutely about it. Politicians were divided into two parties: the one, headed by *Nikias*, wished for peace at any price; the other, led by *Alkibiades*, was full of projects of war and conquest. While opinions were thus divided, an embassy from *Egesta* appeared at Athens, in B.C. 416, to solicit aid against the town of Selinus, and made most liberal promises. Envoys were at once sent to Sicily to look into the state of affairs, and on their return gave a most glowing account of the wealth and power of *Egesta*. The Athenians, therefore, at once decreed to send out a powerful fleet under the command of *Alkibiades*, *Lamachos*, and *Nikias*. It was the most splendid armament that Athens had ever fitted out, and worthy of the proud position she occupied among the states of Greece.

When the fleet was almost ready to sail, nearly all the statues of *Hermes*, which adorned the streets of Athens, were found one morning overthrown or mutilated. This act of wantonness filled the minds of the people with alarm, it being believed that it could only be the work of a conspiracy. Many persons were denounced, and those who took to flight were sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The name of *Alkibiades* was not mentioned by any of the informers until the fleet had actually sailed. On its arrival at *Rhegium*, in southern Italy, a detachment was sent to *Egesta* to gather information about its means of defence. The report brought back showed that the wealth of *Egesta* had been greatly exaggerated, but *Alkibiades* and *Lamachos* were nevertheless resolved to assist the town, to gain as many allies as possible, and to attack *Syrakuse*, the chief of the Dorian cities in Sicily.

At this moment, envoys arrived from Athens to recall *Alkibiades*, that he might answer the charges which his enemies had in the meantime brought against him. He offered no resistance, and sailed back with the envoys; but on their arrival at *Thurii* he landed and took to flight. The removal of *Alkibiades* deprived the expedition of the only man who might have carried the undertaking to a

successful issue. He went into Peloponnesus, and his enemies at Athens caused him to be condemned to death, and had all his property confiscated. The war in Sicily was carried on without much energy, until, about the beginning of winter, the Athenians landed in the neighbourhood of *Syrakuse*, and after an engagement, in which the Syrakusans narrowly escaped being beaten, the Athenians withdrew to Katana.

During the winter, the Syrakusans, under the guidance of Hermokrates, did all they could to strengthen themselves, but found the Sicilian towns rather lukewarm in the cause. The Athenians also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by fresh alliances. The Syrakusans sent to Sparta and Korinth for assistance, and Alkibiades, who had taken refuge at Sparta, strongly urged the government to send a large force and an able general to aid Syrakuse, and at the same time to take possession of *Dekeleia*, in the very heart of Attika. The advice was at once acted upon, and *Gylippos* was sent with a force to Syrakuse.

In the spring of B.C. 414, the Athenians besieged Syrakuse, and several engagements took place, in one of which Lamachos was killed. Syrakuse was then closely invested, whereby its inhabitants were reduced to such a state of despair as to depose their faithful leader Hermokrates. The Athenians, being now joined by many Sicilian towns, were feeling sure of victory; but just at this time Gylippos arrived, and his mere presence revived the spirit of the Dorian towns. Great numbers flocked to his standard, and the Syrakusans, giving up all thoughts of peace, attacked the nearly completed fortifications of the Athenians.

The aspect of things was completely changed. Both the native Sicilians and the Greek towns joined Syrakuse, while the Athenians had scarcely any allies except Naxos and Katana. Nikias, now the sole commander of the Athenians, instead of besieging Syrakuse, found that he was himself besieged. He applied to Athens for reinforcements, and wished to resign the command on the

ground of ill health. The last request was refused, but two generals, *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, were sent with fresh troops to Sicily. As the peace between the two leading states of Greece had now been openly broken, the Spartan king, Agis, in B.C. 413, invaded Attika, and after ravaging the country, fortified himself at *Dekeleia*, from whence he could annoy the Athenians in many ways. The situation of Athens was desperate. She had to carry on the war both at home and in Sicily; the sums of money required were immense, and her revenues were diminished. These circumstances created a feeling of uneasiness and discontent, which ultimately found vent in a revolution.

Before Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived with their forces, a naval battle was fought, in which the Athenians were victorious, but their station on the coast was seized by the army of Gylippos. The Athenians were much harassed by the enemy, and in a second naval battle they were compelled to retreat. At this critical time, when the Athenians began to lose their prestige, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived. Demosthenes at once made a night attack on one of the suburbs of Syrakuse, and though at first successful, he was at last defeated with great loss. As, in addition to this disaster, diseases broke out among the Athenian troops, their commanders became disheartened, and Demosthenes even thought of abandoning Sicily altogether. Nikias, though he foresaw the danger of such a withdrawal, at last agreed with his colleague to retreat in secrecy. The Syrakusans, who had been informed of this design, attacked their enemies both by land and by sea. The Athenian fleet was completely defeated, and Eurymedon was killed. The loss of the Athenians was very severe, and the Syrakusans now aimed at nothing short of the utter annihilation of their opponents. They therefore resolved to try their strength in another sea fight, and the Athenians now felt that their very existence was at stake. The land army, under Nikias, was drawn up on the coast. In the ensuing engagement, the Athenian fleet was compelled to retreat

towards the coast, and the land army broke up in utter confusion. The fleet, one-half of which was destroyed, was abandoned, and the Athenians endeavoured by flight to reach some inland place of safety, the sick and wounded being left behind. Nikias led the van, and Demosthenes the rear. The Syrakusans pursued and harassed them in every way, and after some days forced them to prepare for battle. The troops of Demosthenes were compelled to surrender their arms, but their lives were to be spared. When Nikias was likewise overtaken and heard of the fate of his colleague, he could not believe it, and continued his march amid the greatest difficulties, until he too was forced to surrender. The captives, 7000 in number, were sent into a large stone quarry near Syrakuse, where they were kept for seventy days, crowded together, upon little food, and in a pestilential atmosphere, for the bodies of the dead and dying were left in the midst of the living. At last the survivors were sold as slaves, and Nikias and Demosthenes were put to death. Thus ended the most splendid expedition that Athens had ever sent out. The heartless cruelty of the Syrakusans cannot but fill us with horror and detestation.

When the news of this dreadful blow reached Athens, the people became desponding, and vented their wrath against those who had advised them to embark in the undertaking; but they soon recovered their spirits and determined to preserve whatever power they still possessed. The general war was continued for nine years longer, partly by sea, and partly on the coast of Asia Minor, while the Spartans maintained their strong position at Dekeleia. During the Sicilian expedition, Sparta had become a maritime power. The discontented allies of Athens, such as Eubœa and Lesbos, seizing the opportunity of her humiliation, entered into negotiation with Sparta; and even Persia tried to secure her help to drive the Athenians from their possessions in Asia Minor. The Spartans gladly entered into the plot, and, in B.C. 412, sent Alkibiades with a small fleet to Chios, whose

inhabitants were induced to renounce their alliance with Athens. Other towns followed their example, and the Athenians were unable to check the spirit of revolt. At last a treaty was concluded between Sparta and Persia, in which the Asiatic Greeks were handed over to the barbarians.

The Athenians, however, having assembled a large force, subdued and ravaged Chios, and compelled most of the revolted towns to return to their allegiance. Another force, under *Phrynichos*, attacked Miletus, where it had to contend against the Persian *Tissaphernes* and *Alkibiades*; but as a strong auxiliary force arrived from Syracuse, *Phrynichos* had to retreat to Samos. The Athenian ascendancy at sea was indeed maintained, but Miletus and some other towns remained in the hands of the enemies of Athens. *Alkibiades*, who had become suspected by his Spartan friends, induced *Tissaphernes* to withdraw his support from them, and to allow the Athenians and Spartans to weaken each other. This advice was followed, and caused no small loss to Sparta. The object of *Alkibiades*, however, had not been to benefit Persia more than Athens. His desire was to weaken his countrymen only so far as to make them feel the need of himself, and thus to effect his recall. With this view, he worked upon the Athenian army at Samos, and induced *Peisander* to go to Athens with certain proposals and the assurance that *Tissaphernes* was ready to join them. The plan, up to a certain point, succeeded, but as *Alkibiades* in his proposals insisted upon the establishment of an oligarchical government, all negotiation was broken off. The oligarchical party at Athens, however, in B.C. 411, succeeded in establishing a form of government after their own heart, and the same revolution was effected in many of the allied states. The change consisted in this: Ten men were appointed with unlimited power to prepare a series of new laws; a council of 400 was elected, and the franchise was limited to 5000 citizens. The chief promoters of this oligarchical scheme were *Peisander*, *Theramenes*, and the orator *Antiphon*. The new government

was bent upon concluding a speedy peace with Sparta. The army at Samos, however, was utterly opposed to the change; and when the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the oligarchs became known, both the army and the fleet bound themselves by an oath to defend the rights of the people, and to restore the democratic constitution.

During this period of internal discord, Athens sustained some severe losses abroad, for many towns in the north, and even Eubœa, revolted, while the Spartans were anxiously waiting for assistance from Persia. But things soon took a different turn.

Thrasybulos, one of the generals at Samos, prevailed upon the army to recall *Alkibiades*, who was at once chosen by the soldiers as one of their commanders, and contrived to make *Tissaphernes* believe that he was all-powerful with his countrymen, hoping thereby to induce the satrap openly to declare against Sparta. Envoys from Athens now came to Samos to exculpate and justify the ruling oligarchs. But the army refused to listen to them, and would have proceeded to Athens at once to depose the oligarchs, had it not been for the moderate counsels of *Alkibiades*. The change, however, was brought about by the quarrels among the oligarchs themselves, and *Theramenes* contrived to put himself at the head of a counter-revolution, as the oligarchs were suspected of plotting with Sparta. When, therefore, a Peloponnesian fleet actually appeared off the coast of Attika, the people hurried to their ships and attacked it; but they were defeated with great loss, which, for the moment, made them almost despair. They soon recovered, however, and an assembly was convened in which the oligarchy was deposed and *Alkibiades* recalled. *Peisander* and other leaders of the hateful party took to flight, and found shelter in the enemy's camp at *Dekeleia*.

Mindaros, the Spartan admiral, tired of waiting in vain for help from *Tissaphernes*, sailed to the Hellespont to try his luck with *Pharnabazus*, another Persian satrap. He was followed by the Athenian fleet, which gained a great victory over him; and a second naval

battle was fought near Abydos, in which, owing to the skilful management of Alkibiades, the Athenians were again victorious. Tissaphernes had by this time likewise arrived in that part of Asia, and as Alkibiades was trying definitely to win him over to Athens, he was arrested by the satrap and sent to Sardes, because the king, it was said, wished to continue the war against Athens. After a short time, Alkibiades escaped, returned to the Athenian fleet, and fought a great battle in the neighbourhood of Kyzikos, in which Mindaros was killed. The Peloponnesian army fled, and the whole fleet fell into the hands of the Athenians, B.C. 410. The Athenians now continued their victorious career, and recovered all that had been lost on the Hellespont, while the condition of the Peloponnesians seemed hopeless, for in Attika, too, the attacks from Dekeleia were successfully repelled.

In B.C. 409, Chalkedon and Byzantium surrendered to the Athenians. After these brilliant successes, Alkibiades, in B.C. 408, returned to Athens, where all accusations against him were forgotten, and where for a time he became the idol of the people. Shortly after, he was sent with a large fleet to the island of Andros, which had revolted; and as he was unable to reduce it, his enemies made the people believe that the failure was owing solely to his want of goodwill; and of this they were the more easily persuaded, because they thought him capable of accomplishing anything if he only wished it.

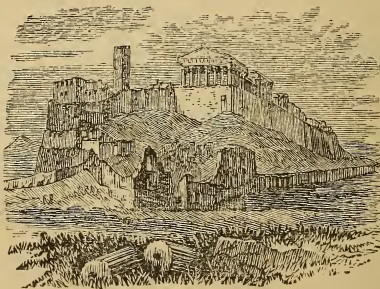
After the death of Mindaros, the command of the Peloponnesian fleet was undertaken by *Lyxander*, an able man, and a worthy opponent of Alkibiades. He happened to be waiting at Ephesus for the arrival of Kyros, the king's son, a zealous supporter of Sparta. One of the officers of Alkibiades, contrary to orders, attacked Lyxander, and this led to a general engagement, which ended unfortunately for the Athenians. Alkibiades, unable to repair the loss, sailed to Samos. There the disaster was ascribed to his own carelessness, and he was deposed by the army, B.C. 407. Knowing the influence of his enemies at home, Alkibiades went into voluntary

exile to the Thracian Chersonesus, and never saw his country again, though his attachment to it remained undiminished. *Konon*, the ablest of his generals, now undertook the command of the army at Samos.

Lysander was succeeded by *Kallikratidas*, who in his first encounter with *Konon*, defeated him with great loss. The Athenians, on being informed of this, speedily equipped another numerous fleet, and near a group of small islands, called *Arginusæ*, defeated the Peloponnesians in a battle in which *Kallikratidas* was killed, and seventy ships were lost. After the battle a violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenian generals to collect the shipwrecked and the corpses. For this, an accusation was brought against them at Athens, and they were ordered to return to be tried. Six of them who obeyed the order went into their own destruction, for the people, goaded on by demagogues, condemned them all in a body to death. *Theramenes*, one of the generals, saved himself by throwing all the blame on his colleagues. On that occasion, *Sokrates* was one of the few who boldly condemned the proceedings against the generals as unjust.

Upon the death of *Kallikratidas*, *Lysander* again obtained the command of the Peloponnesian forces. In B.C. 405, he joined the fleet at Ephesus with large reinforcements, and soon after sailed to the Hellespont, whither he was followed by the Athenians. The latter encamped near a place called *Ægospotami*, opposite to Lampsakos, where the men had to leave their ships, in order to collect provisions. *Alkibiades*, who lived in the neighbourhood and saw their carelessness, cautioned them; but his advice was scorned. One day, when the Athenians, in their usual manner, were scattered over the country, *Lysander* attacked their fleet; and *Konon*, unable to assemble his forces, took to flight. The ships were captured, and the men on shore were killed or taken prisoners. *Lysander* then proceeded to subdue the allies of Athens, one after another, and sent their garrisons to Athens, in the hope of thereby creating a

famine in the city. While this was going on in the north, the Peloponnesian land-forces assembled, and encamped close to the gates of Athens; and soon after, Lysander appeared with his fleet before Peiræus. Athens was thus shut in on all sides, and the people, though without means of defending themselves, refused to surrender, until, compelled by famine, they entered into negotiation with the enemy. They were referred to the authorities at Sparta, and at last had to accept the following hard terms: 1. The long walls and the fortifications of Peiræus were to be demolished; 2. All ships except twelve were to be delivered up; 3. All the exiled oligarchs were to be recalled; 4. Athens was to have the same friends and enemies as Sparta; 5. All the allies of Athens were to be restored to independence, and Athens was to recognise the supremacy of Sparta. Theramenes, who had negotiated this peace, advised the desponding people to accept it. The terms were at once complied with, and when Lysander entered Peiræus, the work of demolition was commenced. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 404, in which more blood had been shed than in all the previous wars put together, and in which Greece had become so much exhausted that she might easily have become the prey of a foreign conqueror.



RUINS OF THE AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



THREE FIGURES FROM PARTHENON.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE PEACE OF ANTALKIDAS.

WHEN the work of demolition was completed, Lysander changed the government of Athens into an oligarchy. *Thirty* men, commonly called the *Thirty Tyrants*, were selected from among the partisans of Sparta, and entrusted with almost unlimited power. The franchise was left to only 3000 citizens, who alone were allowed to carry arms, and all the rest were placed beyond the protection of the law. After settling these matters, Lysander, laden with booty, returned to Sparta.

The *Thirty*, headed by the wealthy *Kritias*, at first punished only the obnoxious demagogues, but by-and-by they were not slow in finding pretexts for outlawing wealthy citizens, for no other reason but because they wished to possess themselves of their property. They inaugurated, in fact, a reign of terror, during which nearly 1400 Athenian citizens fell victims to their cruelty and avarice. About 5000 took to flight, and even towns previously hostile to Athens took pity upon the unfortunate exiles. The reckless cruelty of the *Thirty* went so far that even Theramenes, one of their number, expressed his disgust at their proceedings. *Kritias* thereupon charged him with treason, and had his name struck off the list of citizens, whereby he became an outlaw. He was thrown into prison, and had to take

the deadly hemlock. He bore his fate manfully, and thus made some atonement for the offences of his rather equivocal career.

But the day of retribution was not far off. *Thrasybulos*, one of the exiles, and an able general, had at first gone to Thebes; but being joined by seventy other exiles, he had taken possession of the small fortress of Phylæ, in the north of Attika. Notwithstanding the precautions of the Thirty, the number of exiles assembling in that place soon rose to 700; and supported by them, *Thrasybulos*, after defeating the forces of the tyrants, proceeded to Peiræus. The Thirty, fearing treachery in the city, ordered 300 suspected citizens to be put to death, and then marched down to Peiræus, where a battle was fought, in which the exiles were victorious, and *Kritias*, with many of his followers, was slain. The vanquished army retreated into the city, and the survivors of the Thirty withdrew to Eleusis. Their friends in the city, failing in the attempt to effect a compromise, sent to Sparta for assistance. An army, under *Lysander*, and a fleet were accordingly despatched to Athens; but the Spartan king, *Pausanias*, jealous of the military glory of *Lysander*, came to an understanding with *Thrasybulos*, who generously proclaimed a general amnesty, from which the survivors of the Thirty and their most guilty tools alone were exempted.

After this, *Thrasybulos* proceeded to the city, and exhorted the people to maintain peace and order, and to restore their old constitution. This advice was cheerfully followed; but when it became known that the oligarchs at Eleusis were planning an attack upon Athens, the citizens marched out in a body, and inflicted summary punishment upon them. Such was the end, in B.C. 403, of the rule of the Thirty and of the year of anarchy, as it is called in Athenian history. The democratic constitution was then restored, and a commission of 500 men was appointed to revise the laws.

Athens, though humbled and broken down, showed in the midst of its distress a spirit and a vitality such as

few other states have manifested in similar circumstances. Her intellectual vigour and activity continued, as if nothing unusual had happened. Art and literature in some respects rose even to a higher point of perfection than that attained in happier days. In poetry alone there was a falling off, for the place of fancy and imagination was gradually supplied by erudition and learning. The losses which Athens had sustained were soon repaired; but the case of Sparta, though she had come out of the war victorious, was very different. The effects of her victory were ruinous to the character of her people. Foreign manners and luxuries found their way into Sparta, and formed a strong contrast to the spirit of her ancient constitution, of which the outward forms were nevertheless still observed. Owing to the intercourse with other nations, the use of money was introduced among the Spartans; and as they were of an avaricious disposition, Spartan citizens soon became richer than those of any other state; but the great wealth was accumulated in a few families. The number of 9000 citizens, owing to their spirit of exclusiveness, is said to have been reduced to 700, and even of these, no more than 100 enjoyed the full franchise, and lived in haughty seclusion from the rest of the people.

At Athens, on the other hand, the number of citizens was not materially diminished by the war and the pestilence, for aliens, and even slaves, were frequently rewarded with the franchise for having benefited the state by commerce or industry. It is true that unprincipled demagogues often exercised an injurious influence upon the people, and led them to spend large sums upon pleasures and amusements, which might have been better employed in the public service, but the mass of the people on all occasions displayed a peculiarly noble and humane disposition. Under the guidance of the wise Thrasybulos they reformed the old constitution so far as to make it a moderate democracy, under the watchful supervision of the Areiopagos; and henceforth Athens enjoyed a period of internal tranquillity, until the time

of Philip of Macedonia, when party animosities again began to disturb her peace and happiness.

The golden age of Attic art and literature embraces a period of about 200 years, from the beginning of the Persian wars down to the death of Alexander the Great. During the first half of that period, poetry, as we have already seen, reached its highest development; and during the latter, oratory, philosophy, and historiography were cultivated with unparalleled success by such men as *Perikles* and *Demosthenes*, *Sokrates* and *Plato*, and *Thukydides* and *Xenophon*. *Sokrates*, indeed, did not himself write any works, and we know him chiefly through the writings of his disciples, *Xenophon* and *Plato*. He was truly said to have called philosophy down from heaven, and to have introduced it into the habitations of men, for before his time, philosophers had speculated about outward nature, the origin of the universe, etc.; but he directed all his attention to the moral nature of man and his duties and relations to his fellowmen. The novelty and method of his teaching, together with his leaning towards an aristocratic form of government, led his enemies to charge him with corrupting the young, and with disregarding the publicly recognised gods. When brought to trial, he defended himself fearlessly, disdaining to employ any unlawful means to obtain his acquittal, and when he was condemned to death at the age of seventy, he cheerfully drank the fatal cup, and died in B.C. 399.

We must now briefly notice an episode which, though properly no part of the history of Greece, throws light upon the character of its people. *Kyros*, a younger brother of the Persian king, *Artaxerxes*, had formed the design to overthrow his brother and seize upon his throne. With this object in view, he had favoured Sparta in her war against the Athenians, and with her assistance he now collected an army of malcontents from all parts of Greece. With this army, he set out from Sardes, in B.C. 401. He encountered his brother at *Kunaxa*, where a battle was fought, in which *Kyros* was killed. But the Greeks refused to surrender, and after

having been treacherously drawn into the interior of Asia, their leaders were murdered. *Xenophon*, the Athenian historian, who had accompanied the army as a volunteer, now undertook the command of his countrymen, dispelled their despair, and promised to conduct them back to Greece. They marched northward through unknown countries, pursued by their enemies, attacked by the fierce natives, and struggling with all kinds of untoward difficulties, until they reached the Greek town of Trapezus, on the Euxine. Their number, originally about 13,000, was reduced during their march to 8000. This retreat of the Greeks is one of the most remarkable in military history, and has been minutely described by *Xenophon* himself in his "*Anabasis*."

When, after the death of Kyros, Tissaphernes received the government of Asia Minor, the Greek cities refused to obey him, and invoked the assistance of Sparta. *Thimbron* accordingly was sent out with a large force, but effected little; and his successor, *Derkyllidas*, by negotiation gained over many of the *Æolian* towns, and then proceeded to the north to secure the Greek cities on the coast of Thrace. Tissaphernes, with another Persian satrap, met the Greek army on the banks of the Mæander, but instead of fighting a battle, a truce was concluded, B.C. 397, for the purpose of considering the terms of a peace proposed by *Derkyllidas*, who demanded the independence of the Asiatic Greeks. The proposal was accepted, on condition that the Greek garrisons should be withdrawn from the towns.

The year before this, the Spartan king, Agis, had died, and was succeeded by his brother, *Agésilao*s, one of the ablest generals that Sparta ever produced. At the very beginning of his reign, a conspiracy of the poor, headed by Kinadon, was formed against the wealthy Spartans, but was crushed by the prudence of Agésilao>s. As it became known that Persia was making preparations for subduing the Asiatic Greeks, Agésilao>s and Lysander sailed with a large armament to Ephesus; but Tissaphernes, not being quite ready, concluded a truce, only

to gain time to collect his forces. When Agesilaos saw through this scheme, he marched against the treacherous Persian, and completely defeated him in the neighbourhood of Sardes. Tissaphernes, in consequence of this loss was deprived of his post, and put to death by his successor, Tithraustes, who bribed the Spartan king to direct his forces against Pharnabazus, another satrap. In this undertaking, Agesilaos was so successful that he formed a plan of carrying the war into the heart of Persia; but in the midst of his preparations for this expedition he was recalled to Sparta, B.C. 394.

While Agesilaos had been pursuing his victorious career, Tithraustes had been stirring up, by bribery, the Greeks against Sparta, and accordingly a coalition was formed by the leading states against the Spartans, who had become odious to all the Greeks, on account of the cruelty of the governors (*harmostæ*) whom she had sent into the cities which she professed to have freed from the tyranny of Athens. The Phokians, being attacked by the Lokrians, applied to Sparta for assistance. An army, commanded by Lysander, was despatched to the scene of the war, and on its passage through Bœotia, in B.C. 395, made an attack upon Haliartos. The Thebans, siding with the Lokrians, hastened to the assistance of the town, and in the ensuing engagement Lysander was killed. The confederates now held a meeting at Korinth, and their alliance was readily joined by other states. At the same time, the King of Persia engaged *Konon*, a distinguished Athenian exile, to equip a fleet against Sparta; and it was at this critical moment that Agesilaos was recalled. He came down through the northern countries, and on his arrival in Greece the war with the confederates had already commenced. They tried to prevent the Spartans from proceeding northward, but were defeated in the neighbourhood of Nemea. When, at last, Agesilaos arrived in Bœotia, late in the year B.C. 394, he received information that the whole of the Spartan fleet had been utterly defeated off Knidos. A few days later, Agesilaos engaged in a battle against the confederates

near Koroneia, where both parties fought with the utmost exasperation, but Agesilaos gained the day. He then went home and disbanded his army. The war, however, was continued in the territory of Korinth with the greatest bitterness; and although the Korinthian port of Lechæon fell into the hands of the Spartans, yet the Korinthians, aided by the Athenian Iphikrates, maintained themselves successfully against their enemies, who were now commanded by Agesilaos. The Greek cities in Asia Minor had, in the meantime, been delivered from their Spartan governors with the help of Konon and Pharnabazus, both of whom, in B.C. 393, ravaged the coasts of Lakonia, and seized the island of Kythera. The Greeks were amply supplied by Persia with subsidies against Sparta, and Konon even obtained the consent of Pharnabazus to rebuild the walls of Athens, a work which was completed as early as 392. Sparta's maritime power was now gone, and Athens was fast recovering her former supremacy. But the Spartans, in order to avenge themselves, had recourse to intrigues for the purpose of destroying the power and influence of Konon. The crafty *Antalkidas* was sent out to make to the Persian satrap, Tiribazus, proposals of a peace in which the Asiatic Greeks were to be handed over to the king. The satrap, notwithstanding the opposition of Konon and others, entered into the scheme, and even supplied Sparta with the means of building another fleet, and then took Konon prisoner. But soon after, quarrels arose among the satraps, who then gave up their support of Sparta, and transferred it to Athens.

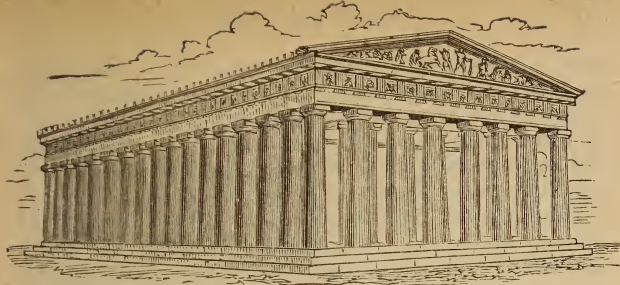
In Europe, the Spartans had, in the meantime, gained some advantages, and checked some of the proceedings of the Athenians. In these circumstances, the latter sent out the aged *Thrasybulos* with a considerable fleet, with which he was at first very successful on the coast of Thrace and in the Ægean, but he fell in an engagement at Aspendos. This brave and noble commander was succeeded by the reckless and effeminate *Agyrrhios*, in consequence of which the Spartans recovered many of

their lost places, and even harassed Attika from the island of Ægina, of which they had made themselves masters.

While these things were going on in Greece, *Antalkidas* again went to Asia, determined this time to bring about a peace with Persia. The plan was facilitated by the fact that the Athenians, tired of the war, were also turning their thoughts to peace. Accordingly, they also, joined by the Corinthians and Argives, sent envoys to Tiribazus; and a peace, commonly called the *Peace of Antalkidas*, was concluded in B.C. 387, on the following terms: That the Greek cities in Asia, together with Klazomenæ and Kyprus, should belong to Persia; but that all other Greek towns should be free and independent, with the exception of the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which belonged to the Athenians. According to this peace, the leading states ought to have set free the smaller towns in their respective territories. But Thebes and Argos, not being inclined to comply with this stipulation, had to be compelled by threats. Sparta, itself, which ought to have set an example to the other states, continued to exercise its sovereignty over Lakonia and Messenia.



GREEK WARRIOR.



RESTORED PARTHENON.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE PEACE OF ANTALKIDAS TO THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEIA.

THE peace of Antalkidas was never completely carried out, so far as the towns of Greece were concerned. Sparta not only maintained the sovereignty over her former subjects, but extended it over the whole of Peloponnesus, with the exception of Argos, which maintained its independence. Not satisfied with this, Sparta even presumed to interfere in the affairs of the states of Northern Greece. These latter endeavoured to secure themselves by a coalition, of which Olynthos was the head. A report that Athens and Bœotia intended to join the coalition, led the Spartans to send out a force under Eudamidas, who at once took possession of Potidæa. Soon after, a larger army followed, under the command of *Phæbidas*. While he was passing through Bœotia, the oligarchical party at Thebes betrayed the city into his hands, and Ismenias, the leader of the popular party, was arrested and put to death. The principal men of the popular party, about 300 in number, took refuge in Athens. One of them was *Pelopidas*, whose eminent friend *Epaminondas* remained at Thebes unmolested, because there was nothing about him to frighten the oligarchs.

The war against *Olynthos* lasted from B.C. 363 to 379, when its inhabitants were compelled by famine to con-

clude a peace in which they had to recognise the supremacy of their conquerors. Sparta had now reached the height of its power and influence, for the other states were too much weakened to venture upon a fresh war. But the year of Sparta's greatest prosperity was also the beginning of her decline.

Pelopidas, in conjunction with a small number of fellow-exiles, formed the plan of delivering his native city, which was kept in subjection by a Spartan garrison. One night he and his friends entered Thebes in disguise, and being joined by others, they proceeded to the houses of the oligarchs and put them to death. The citizens, being called out to assert their freedom, assembled at daybreak in arms, while an Athenian force was hastening to their assistance. The Spartan harmost was obliged to capitulate, but he and his garrison were allowed to depart unhurt, and only those who had assisted in betraying the city into the enemy's hands were punished with death. When Sparta was informed of these events, she resolved to crush Thebes by force of arms, and thus commenced the *Theban War*, which lasted from B.C. 378 to 362; but it was not confined to these two states, all Greece taking part in it more or less. Under the able guidance of *Epaminondas*, Thebes recovered the supremacy over the Boeotian towns, and Athens her maritime ascendancy, while Sparta was humbled. But the unfortunate war of Greeks against Greeks paved the way for their subjugation by Macedonia.

During the first two years, the Spartans invaded and ravaged Boeotia, the Thebans maintaining the defensive behind their fortifications, while *Pelopidas* formed and trained an excellent army. Athens, now in alliance with Thebes, brought about a powerful confederation against Sparta, and concluded alliances with the principal maritime states, such as Chios, Byzantium, Rhodes, and Mitylene. Its navy was thereby greatly increased, and its wisdom and moderation secured to it the confidence and attachment of its confederates. In the third year of the war, the Lakedæmonians were repulsed by the

Athenians in their attempt to march into Bœotia. Upon this the Spartans equipped a fleet, partly to transport their troops into Bœotia, and partly to harass the coasts of Attika; but it was destroyed off Naxos by the Athenians under *Chabrias*, and at the same time an Athenian fleet under *Timotheos* laid waste the coasts of Peloponnesus, and induced Kephallenia, Akarnania, and some Epirot tribes to join the Athenian confederacy. By this means, Thebes was protected against any further attacks, and enabled to effect the submission of the Bœotian towns.

The success of Thebes, however, was beginning to excite fear and alarm at Athens, and thus led the Athenians to conclude a peace with Sparta, on the basis of that of Antalkidas. The Thebans, of course, refused to be a party to it; and some Bœotian towns trying to assert their freedom, were razed to the ground. Athens, however, pursued her own course, leaving Sparta to continue the war against Thebes. The feeling then prevailing in Greece was almost like that which had divided the nation during the Peloponnesian war, for everywhere the oligarchs were at war with the democracy, and being no longer supported by Sparta, the democrats nearly everywhere gained the upper hand. The Athenian general *Iphikrates* was fighting successfully in the cause of democracy, when in B.C. 373, negotiations for peace were again commenced, the King of Persia being this time invited to act as mediator. Accordingly the peace of Antalkidas was renewed and accepted by both Athens and Sparta, but Thebes did not join in it, as she insisted upon maintaining her supremacy over the Bœotian towns.

Immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the Spartan king, *Kleombrotos*, invaded Bœotia, but the Thebans, though without allies, being commanded by her brave and able citizens, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, gained a most complete victory at Leuktra, in B.C. 371. In that battle, Kleombrotos with 400 Spartans, and upwards of 3000 Lakonians, were slain. Sparta's military prestige was gone, and her Peloponnesian subjects

began to throw off her yoke. All the Arkadian communities united and began to build a great capital, called Megalopolis. They relied upon help from Thebes, which, after strengthening itself by several new alliances, invaded Peloponnesus, in B.C. 369, under the command of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. On their arrival in the peninsula, they were joined by many Peloponnesians, and marched against Sparta. The Spartans were almost paralysed with fear, but as the first attack on the city produced little effect, Epaminondas proceeded to Gythion, which he set on fire, and then turned into Messenia. Large numbers of Helots and Spartan subjects here flocked to his standards, and he proclaimed the *independence of Messenia*, the severest blow that could have been inflicted on Sparta. Messenians from all parts were invited to return to their ancient homes, and the building of a new capital, Messene, at the foot of Mount Ithome, was forthwith commenced. After an absence of scarcely three months, Epaminondas returned home.

Sparta in her distress had applied to Athens for assistance, and with their usual generosity, the Athenian people sent Iphikrates into Peloponnesus, but he was unable to cut off the return of Epaminondas. A treaty of alliance was then concluded between Athens and Sparta, according to which the command of their united forces should belong alternately to each of the two states.

In B.C. 368, Epaminondas again invaded Peloponnesus, and defeated the hostile armies stationed on the isthmus to prevent his entering the peninsula. Several Peloponnesian towns joined him of their own accord, but others had to be compelled. The condition of Sparta, however, was now somewhat improved, for she had received succour from Sicily ; and the Arkadians, in consequence of their arrogance, were forsaken by their Theban protectors. Just at this crisis the King of Persia sent envoys, advising the belligerents to conclude peace, but the Thebans peremptorily declared that they would not set free their subjects. The war therefore was continued, although just then another enemy arose in the north, against whom Thebes

ad to employ a part of her forces. *Jason*, tyrant of *Phæræ*, who had the command of all the Thessalian towns, seeing the distressed state of Greece, had conceived the idea of making himself master of it. He therefore had tried to interfere in the war between Thebes and Sparta, but soon after the battle of *Leuktra* he had been assassinated. *Alexander*, who afterwards succeeded to the tyrannis, became involved in a war with Thebes, in consequence of which *Pelopidas* in B.C. 368, invaded Thessaly, but was taken prisoner, and it was only after repeated attempts that *Epaminondas* succeeded in effecting his liberation. Some years later, when *Pelopidas* had again entered Thessaly, to free the towns from their cruel and reckless tyrant, he was killed in a battle at *Kynoskephalæ*, though his army was victorious, and compelled the tyrant to restore the independence of the Thessalian towns, and to enter into an alliance with Thebes, B.C. 364.

In the meantime the Arkadian state had been crushed, in B.C. 367, by the Spartans in a battle in which 10,000 Arkadians and not a single Spartan are said to have fallen. The year after this battle, *Epaminondas* invaded *Peloponnesus* for the third time, but without producing any lasting effect. Several states indeed wished for peace, but a war which broke out in B.C. 365, between *Arkadia* and *Elis*, destroyed all hope of it. Sparta supported *Elis*, but the Arkadians defeated both, and took possession of the temple of *Olympia*. A dispute then arose among them as to what should be done with the temple treasures, and the Theban commander arrested a number of persons who had advised to spend the treasures upon the army. The Arkadians, *Mantineia* at their head, enraged at this interference, called upon all the *Peloponnesians* to assert their independence of Thebes. But *Epaminondas* was already approaching with allies from *Eubœa* and Thessaly, and was joined in *Peloponnesus* by the *Argives*, *Messenians*, and some Arkadian towns. The *Lakonians* with their allies were encamped near *Mantineia*, where *Epaminondas* resolved to fight a de-

cisive battle. His first attack was made with such vehemence, that the enemies were overpowered and put to flight, but he himself was mortally wounded in his breast by a spear. He refused to have the weapon extracted, until he was assured of the complete victory of his troops. When he was informed of this, the iron was removed, and he bled to death.

This battle of Mantinea, which was fought in B.C. 362, is one of the most important in Greek history. Thebes, which had for a short period risen from comparative obscurity, and exercised its influence in the affairs of Greece, suddenly fell from its proud position, for it owed its power solely to its two great citizens, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, and after their death there was no one to take their place. But Sparta's power was broken, and a peace was at length concluded, in B.C. 361, in which the independence of Messenia was recognised. The great *Agésilas*, who had gone to Egypt to support a rebellion against Persia, died in the same year.

Ever since the time of the Peloponnesian war, it had become more and more customary among the Greeks to carry on their wars by means of mercenaries, while the citizens remained at home, enjoying the pleasures and luxuries of life, and losing their warlike spirit. Athens, which in many respects was carried away by the general current, nevertheless displayed at times an energy and a patriotism worthy of the descendants of the men who fought at Marathon and Salamis. Unprincipled leaders of the people often sold and betrayed their country, while the people thoughtlessly followed them and allowed their country to drift into danger.

While nearly all the states of Greece were in this condition, a power was rising in the north, which threatened the independence, and in the end crushed the liberty of Greece. That power was the kingdom of *Macedonia*. Its inhabitants appear to have been a mixture of Pelasgians and Illyrians; the Greeks called them barbarians—that is, foreigners,—but the royal family traced its origin to Karanos, an Argive prince. The early

history of this kingdom is very obscure. The first king who did much to introduce Greek civilisation among his subjects was *Archelaos*, who reigned from B.C. 413 to B.C. 399. We have already noticed that the kings of Macedonia occasionally interfered in the quarrels of the Greeks. At the time at which we have now arrived, the kingdom was governed by *Philip*, son of *Amyntas*. He had been taken to Thebes as a hostage by *Pelopidas*, when the latter had been called upon to mediate between two pretenders to the throne of Macedonia. Philip was still living at Thebes in B.C. 359, when the King of Macedonia died; he now made his escape into Macedonia to establish his claim to the throne. After having got rid of two pretenders, he came into conflict with the Athenians, who were trying to extend their dominion on the Thracian coast, while Philip's object was to drive them altogether from it. During his residence at Thebes, he had become acquainted with the character and manners of the Greeks, whose civilisation he highly appreciated. He was a man of extraordinary gifts, uniting in his person the prudence, cunning, and cleverness of an expert politician, with the talents of a general, the energy and perseverance of a soldier, and the liberality of a king. His Macedonian army was far superior to the mercenaries employed by the Greeks. When he wished to obtain an object, he was as successful in the art of bribery as in that of war; and promises, even oaths, were no obstacles to him, if by their violation, he could gain his ends.

While Philip was extending his kingdom in the west and in the east, Athens, being engaged in what is called the *Social War*, from B.C. 357 to B.C. 355, was unable to offer any resistance. The social war was one which Athens had to wage against her revolted allies headed by Chios. The Athenian commander, *Chares* a short sighted and incompetent man, entered into negotiation with a rebellious Persian satrap, in consequence of which the King of Persia threatened to support the allies with his fleet. Athens was thereby frightened into concluding a peace in which she lost her most valued allies,

and a great part of her revenue. Philip of Macedonia had in the meantime been called upon to assist the Thessalian towns against *Lykophron*, the tyrant of Pheræ and murderer of his predecessor. Philip accomplished the task, and thereby secured the support of the Thessalian towns in his own schemes. He did not, however, depose the tyrant, as he hoped to make use of him also in any future emergency. Such an opportunity occurred soon after in what is called the *Sacred War*, from B.C. 355 to B.C. 346, which arose in the following manner.

The Thebans, still bent upon maintaining the position they had occupied under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, accused the Phokians before the Council of Amphiktyons of having taken into cultivation a piece of land which had been regarded as accursed. The Amphiktyons finding the Phokians guilty, demanded a very heavy fine, and ordered them to destroy the work of their own hands. As the Phokians refused, war was forthwith declared against them to vindicate the honour of Apollo. The Phokians had meanwhile taken possession of the temple of Delphi and its treasures, and on the advice of their leader, *Philomelos*, had converted the gold and silver into money, to defray the expenses of the war. For a time *Philomelos* was successful, but in B.C. 352, he fell in battle, and was succeeded by his brother *Onomarchos*, who used the temple treasures most unscrupulously in bribery as well as in meeting the necessary expenditure. He also gained the support of *Lykophron* of Pheræ, by aiding him against the Thessalian towns. Philip of Macedonia supported the tyrant, and after having suffered some reverses, he fought a fierce battle, in which the Macedonians proclaimed themselves the champions of Apollo, and gained the victory over their enemies. Athens and Sparta were allied with the Phokians, and an Athenian fleet was stationed near Thermopylæ; *Onomarchos*, in trying to reach it, perished. He was succeeded by his brother *Phayllos*, who was joined by *Lykophron* with a large body of mercenaries. Philip's object was to penetrate into the heart of Greece, but

being prevented by the Athenian fleet, he returned to Macedonia. Having, however, become the champion of the Amphiktyons, he had acquired a sort of right to interfere in the affairs of Greece. The great Athenian orator *Demosthenes*, even at this early time, saw through the schemes of the wily Macedonian, and warned his countrymen against him. Phayllos continued the war very vigorously, though he was beaten several times; but in B.C. 351 he died of an illness, and was succeeded by *Phalækos*, who was likewise unsuccessful, but fearfully ravaged Bœotia. The Thebans, notwithstanding the subsidies they received from Persia, were in the end defeated by the Phokians in a great battle near Koroneia, in B.C. 346, after which many Bœotian towns fell into the hands of the enemy.

When thus hard pressed, the Thebans sought the assistance of Philip. At Athens, Demosthenes was stirring up the people to send help to the town of *Olynthos*, which was attacked by Philip. The great orator, who clearly saw the danger, tried to unite all Greece against the common enemy. But it was of no avail; Olynthos and other places were taken and destroyed; and while the king was continuing his conquests, he yet commenced negotiations for peace with Athens. The people there allowed themselves to be lulled into security, and even Demosthenes for a time thought that the Macedonians might be trusted. It was just at this time, B.C. 346, that the Thebans applied to Philip for assistance against the Phokians. As by this time the Athenians had become desirous of peace, ambassadors were sent to the king to arrange the terms. Philip, in order to please the Thebans, excluded the Phokians from the negotiations, and Athens accepted the terms. But when the document was sent to Philip for his signature, the envoys were detained while the king continued his conquests. When at last he had signed the peace, and the envoys had returned to Athens, he marched through the pass of Thermopylæ against the Phokians. Their leader *Phalækos* in despair made his peace with Philip, and with-

drew from the contest. The Phokians, now without a leader, surrendered to Philip on the understanding that he would plead their cause with the Amphiktyons. But they were bitterly deceived, for they were for ever excluded from the Amphiktyonic league, and had to deliver up their arms; their towns were destroyed, and they were ordered annually to pay a very heavy sum to the temple at Delphi. This verdict was carried into effect without mercy, by the Thebans and the Macedonian soldiers. Many of the Bœotian towns also were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes, and large numbers of their inhabitants were sold into slavery.

Philip now stepped into the place of the Phokians in the Amphiktyonic Council, and obtained some important privileges. The terrible fate of the Phokians alarmed the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, but their fears were allayed by the orator *Æschines*, who was bribed by Philip; and as Athens was not in a condition to enter upon a fresh war, Demosthenes himself advised the people to remain quiet and not to oppose the decree against the Phokians.

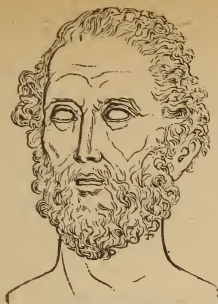
While the Sacred War had been raging in central and northern Greece, Sparta had been endeavouring to recover her supremacy in Peloponnesus. At the same time a Macedonian party had been formed in several towns of the peninsula, for Philip everywhere fostered dissensions, in the hope of finding an opportunity to interfere, for he aimed at nothing short of the supremacy of all Greece. The Athenians, perceiving this, tried to bring about a peace among the Peloponnesians. Demosthenes, more than any one else, saw through Philip's schemes, and tried to convince his countrymen of the danger that was impending over them. But though Philip, in spite of all treaties, pursued his conquests in all directions, the crafty deceiver made them believe that he was really concerned only about the preservation of peace.

The Athenians did, indeed, some things to counteract the king's influence; and when, at last, in B.C. 340, he laid seige to the towns of Perinthos and Byzantium, they

made up their minds at once; and even the King of Persia had become so alarmed at the progress of the Macedonian, that he sent out a force to assist the Greeks. However, it was impossible to bring about a coalition of the Greek states. *Phokion*, who now commanded the Athenian army, was successful in repelling the king, and thereby raised the spirits of the Athenians to such a degree that, in B.C. 339, they renounced the peace with him. Soon after this, the *Amphiktyons* appointed Philip commander-in-chief of their army, commissioning him to make war against the town of *Amphissa*, which was charged with having brought under cultivation a district sacred to *Apollo*. Philip, of course, gladly seized the opportunity, which had been partly brought about by his own intrigues, and proceeded at once against *Amphissa*, at the same time stirring up the ancient enmity between *Thebes* and *Athens*. *Amphissa* was easily reduced, but he nevertheless remained with his large army in *Lokris*, and the next year he suddenly seized upon the towns of *Elateia* and *Kytinion*.

This act of violence at once opened the eyes of all the Greeks; and the Athenians, on the advice of *Demosthenes*, concluded an alliance with *Thebes*. Their enthusiasm to maintain the liberty of Greece was immense, and reinforcements were gathered from all parts of the country. At first the Greeks were successful; but in B.C. 338 a decisive battle was fought in the plain of *Chaeroneia*. The issue was long undecided, but in the end the Greeks were completely defeated. One thousand Athenians fell, and 1000 were taken prisoners. This battle decided the fate of Greece, and Philip was master of the situation; but he showed, on the whole, a wise moderation. The Athenians, after recovering from their first terror and consternation, refused to listen to any proposals of peace. *Demosthenes* and other patriots did their best to fan this spirit of resistance, but their enthusiasm lacked the means of giving it effect, and in the end an embassy was sent to Philip to ratify the terms of the peace he offered. The Athenians had to

give up Samos, and to promise to send deputies to a general congress which was to meet at Korinth in B.C. 337. The Macedonian king was now the real master of Greece; but Athens, under the able management of men like Demosthenes, Phokion, and Lykurgos, still maintained an honourable position and a high degree of prosperity. The Thebans had to pay dearly for having abandoned the alliance with Philip: their citadel was occupied by a Macedonian garrison, and they lost the supremacy over the Bœotian towns. The greater part of the Peloponnesians likewise acknowledged Philip as their sovereign. In the spring of B.C. 337, deputies from all parts of Greece met in congress at Korinth; Sparta alone was not represented. In this assembly, Philip declared that the final object of all his undertakings was to chastise Persia for the wrongs she had inflicted upon the Greeks. This declaration was received with general approbation, and the king was at once appointed commander-in-chief of all the Greek forces. Preparations were forthwith made on a large scale, and every Greek state had to furnish its contingent. Some troops were at once sent into Asia, under the command of Attalos and Parmenion; Philip himself was detained in Europe by family affairs. In the following year, B.C. 336, great festivities were going on in his capital of Pella, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, Kleopatra, with Alexander of Epirus, when Philip was suddenly murdered at the entrance of the theatre by a person who had been wronged by him. The people and the army at once demanded his son Alexander for his successor. That young prince, only twenty years old, had already distinguished himself on several occasions by his valour. The Kingdom, at this moment, was in a perilous position for the death of Philip made a deep impression; and both the barbarians in the north, and the Greeks in the south were in commotion, imagining that the day had now come for recovering their independence. But all difficulties were soon overcome by the genius of young Alexander.



DEMOSTHENES.

CHAPTER XI.

GREECE DURING THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Alexander the Great had been most carefully educated by Aristotle, the greatest of all Greek philosophers, and his mind was so thoroughly imbued with a love of Greek art and literature, that he may be regarded as a real and true Greek. When his father's death became known at Athens, the old enthusiasm for freedom rose to such a pitch, that the people voted a golden crown for the murderer of Philip, no one believing that the "Boy of Pella," as they contemptuously called Alexander, would be able to keep the conquests of his father together; but they did not know the spirit and energy of the young king. After he had gained possession of the throne, he marched into Thessaly to assert his supremacy over Greece, sword in hand. Little resistance was there offered to him, and with unexpected rapidity he advanced southward. The Amphiktyonic Council at once did homage to him, and as the leading states, Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, did not send deputies to greet him, he straightway marched into Bœotia and encamped at the very gates of Thebes. The Athenians, now discovering that they had judged him wrongly, sued for pardon, which was granted on condition of their sending deputies to the congress sitting at Corinth. Alexander himself appeared there, and was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Greeks against Persia. The congress was en-

trusted with the management of all the affairs of Greece, and was to remain permanent until the king's return. Sparta alone stubbornly refused to send deputies.

When the submission of Greece was thus secured, he returned to Macedonia, in B.C. 335, and immediately proceeded against the northern and western barbarians who were threatening his kingdom. In these campaigns he had to encounter the most terrible difficulties, but his energy and personal bravery overcame them all. In Illyricum, however, he was detained for a considerable time, in consequence of which a report was spread that he had been killed. This rumour stirred up all the Greeks that were hostile to Macedonia, and the King of Persia caused large sums of money to be distributed among them. Thebes, together with several other states, at once rose in arms; and the Athenian patriots, Demosthenes at their head, induced the people to declare war against Macedonia. At Thebes the Macedonian garrison was besieged in the akropolis, but all of a sudden Alexander appeared with a large army in Boeotia, and Thebes after a short but brave defence was taken. Alexander, wishing to make an example, inflicted the severest punishment upon it; the city, with the exception of the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, was razed to the ground. Six thousand men had fallen during the siege, and the surviving 20,000 were sold as slaves.

The fate of Thebes made a deep impression upon all Greece, and the Athenians were the first to send ambassadors to implore the king's mercy. The petition was granted on condition that Demosthenes and Lykurgos should be delivered up to him. But this demand was not insisted upon, Alexander being most desirous of securing the good will of the Athenians, for whom he entertained the greatest respect. In the autumn he returned to Macedonia and made preparations for the expedition against Persia. In the spring of B.C. 334, he proceeded with a considerable army to Sestos, where his fleet was ready to carry them into Asia. *Antipater* was left behind as regent of the kingdom. Alexander's army, though small in comparison

with the myriads at the disposal of the Persian king, consisted of Macedonians, barbarian subjects, and only about 7000 Greeks, for large numbers of the latter, disdaining to serve under their conqueror, had gone to Asia and entered the army of King Darius. Among these were some men of great ability, such as *Memnon*, a Rhodian, who undertook the command of the Persian fleet, and kept up the connection between Persia and the European Greeks.

When Alexander entered Asia, he was accompanied by poets, historians, and philosophers, who were to immortalise his exploits, and gather information about the nations and countries never before visited by Europeans. His generals were the most eminent of the time, and two of them, *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulos*, afterwards wrote accounts of their master's expedition, but their works have perished. At Troy the young king, an enthusiastic admirer of Achilles, offered sacrifices to the Greek heroes, which was of course flattering to the Greek portion of his army. His first encounter with the Persian forces took place on the banks of the little river *Granikos*, where he completely defeated them, though they were far superior in numbers. The result of this victory was that nearly all Asia Minor submitted to him, especially the Greek cities, which welcomed him as a Greek delivering them from the barbarians. The city of Halikarnassos alone offered a brave but ineffectual resistance. Memnon, who had done much by means of Persian gold to stir up the European Greeks, suddenly died, which must have been a great relief to the king, who now marched through Kilikia, where he contracted a severe illness by bathing in the icy waters of the river Kydnos, but he was saved by the skill of his physician.

The Persian monarch now advanced with a large army to oppose the invaders at the mountain passes leading from Kilikia into Syria, and a great battle was fought at *Issos*, in B.C. 333, in which the barbarians were completely routed. The booty made by Alexander was immense; and among the prisoners were the king's mother, his wife,

and two daughters, all of whom were treated with courtesy and generosity. He then advanced into Phœnicia and Palestine, where no resistance was offered; but the city of *Tyre* refused to surrender, and had to be compelled by a memorable siege which lasted seven months. All its inhabitants who could not escape were massacred or sold into slavery, and the city was destroyed, B.C. 332. The town of *Gaza* experienced the same fate.

Alexander then marched into Egypt, where the Macedonians were welcomed as deliverers from the detested dominion of the Persians. He not only treated the Egyptians with great consideration, but visited the temple of their god Ammon in the western desert, where the priests declared him to be a son of the god. This at once increased his authority, and made him appear to the superstitious Egyptians as one of themselves. While he was engaged in Egypt, where he founded the city of *Alexandria* near the mouth of the Nile, Darius assembled a fresh army to meet the invaders; but before entering upon any decisive step, he tried to purchase peace by certain concessions. Alexander's mind, however, was bent upon anything but peace. He marched into Asia, crossed the Euphrates and Tigris, and met the Persian army, in B.C. 331, near *Gaugamela*, where he again defeated his enemies, though their army is said to have been twenty times more numerous than his own. The Persian capitals, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Egbatana, with their vast treasures, fell into his hands, and Persepolis was wantonly destroyed by fire. The unfortunate Darius, after this defeat, fled eastward, but was murdered by Bessus, one of his own satraps.

During the following years, Alexander, by the boldest marches through mountainous regions, conquered the countries to the south and east of the Caspian, which were inhabited by hardy and warlike tribes. Several colonies, called after him *Alexandria*, were founded in those distant countries, and became centres of Greek commerce and civilisation. At Bactra he married, in B.C. 328, Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chief. As

he still continued to advance eastward, his Macedonians began openly to show their discontent, but he nevertheless pushed onward, determined to reach the wondrous land of *India*, and in B.C. 327 he crossed the river Indus. The Indians offered a more vigorous resistance than he had encountered in Persia, and more than once his own life was in imminent danger. But what contributed to his success was the jealousy among the Indian chiefs, some of whom allied themselves with him against their neighbours. The most powerful among them was *Porus*, against whom he had to fight a fearful battle, in which 20,000 Indians were slain, and Porus himself was wounded and taken prisoner. After having founded several colonies, Alexander advanced towards the river Hyphasis, and intended even to reach the Ganges. But the Macedonians now showed such strong opposition to any further progress eastward, that the king was obliged to give in, and made up his mind to return. Leaving the Indian chiefs in the possession of their dominions, on condition of their recognising his supremacy, he sailed down the river Hydaspes to explore the mouths of the Indus and the Indian Ocean.

Alexander and his army returned by land through the fearful desert of Gedrosia, while the fleet, under the admiral Nearchos, sailed along the coast into the Persian Gulf. The sufferings of the army on its march through the desert consisting of fine dust and sand, under a scorching sun and without water, were indescribable. Although the march lasted only two months, yet three-fourths of the men died a miserable death. When, the year after this, B.C. 325, he reached Persia, he rewarded the gallant survivors most liberally, and those who were incapable of further service were sent back to Europe with rich presents. Alexander did not treat the Persians as a conquered people, but respected their religion as well as their national customs; and in order to conciliate them still more, or we should perhaps rather say, to gratify his own vanity and ambition, he adopted the pomp and ceremony of an eastern despot, demanding of his European soldiers

the same prostration and adoration as was usually paid to eastern sovereigns.

He further tried to strengthen the union between the West and the East by marriages of Macedonians with Persian women. He himself took Barsine, one of Darius's daughters, for his second wife; and upwards of 10,000 Macedonians received Persian wives with rich dowries from their king. These marriages, celebrated with extraordinary festivities, offended many Macedonians, unable to bear the idea of Asiatic barbarians being raised to an equality with themselves, and accordingly, in B.C. 324, a mutiny broke out among the troops. It was indeed easily suppressed, but *Philotas*, one of his best generals, who had put himself at the head of the malcontents, was put to death. Other men also, among them the philosopher *Kallisthenes*, who openly blamed the king for his conduct, were treated with revolting cruelty; and it is evident that the king's head had been turned by the worship paid him by the Orientals and by worthless flatterers among his own people.

Alexander chose *Babylon* as the capital of his empire, and there surrounded himself with a most brilliant court, receiving the homage and congratulations from the remotest parts of the earth. Banquets and drunken revels followed one another in rapid succession, and various acts of cruelty were committed which the king afterwards bitterly regretted. Thus his brave general, *Kleitos*, who had excited the king's anger, was slain at a banquet, though that very man had once saved the king's life.

While at Babylon, Alexander was forming vast plans for conquering the West, Africa and the whole of southern Europe. But the perpetual excitement had weakened his physical strength, and in the midst of his preparations for further conquests he was attacked by a fever, which after eleven days terminated his life, about the middle of the year B.C. 323. His body was embalmed and carried to Alexandria in Egypt. A successor had never been appointed, but on his death-bed the king had given his seal-ring to Perdikkas.

The conquests of Alexander made a lasting impression upon Asia, and the Greek colonies he had planted in the distant east long survived him, and Greek kingdoms formed on the borders of India maintained themselves for centuries. Western Asia, and Egypt in particular, became centres of Greek culture and civilisation. Eastern Asia and its populations had become known to Europeans, and vast fields were opened to commerce, and especially to the sciences of geography and ethnology. Greek civilisation was in fact spread from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus. But the colossal fabric raised by Alexander fell to pieces as soon as his mighty hand was withdrawn.

Let us now cast a glance at what happened in Greece during Alexander's expedition. In B.C. 333, the Spartan king Agis formed a Peloponnesian confederacy for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of Macedonia, and he was supported by Memnon and some Persian satraps. The Athenians also felt inclined to join the movement, but the want of means obliged them to remain quiet. Alexander moreover tried to keep them in good humour by sending messages and valuable presents to them. But Sparta was determined to force all Peloponnesus into the confederacy. On hearing of this, the regent Antipater invaded the peninsula with a large army, and the Spartans, notwithstanding their great valour, were defeated in a decisive battle near *Megalopolis*. Sparta, thus humbled, sued for peace, but its request was referred to the congress at Corinth, where peace was granted to her on condition of her joining the rest of Greece in recognising the supremacy of Macedonia and paying 120 talents.

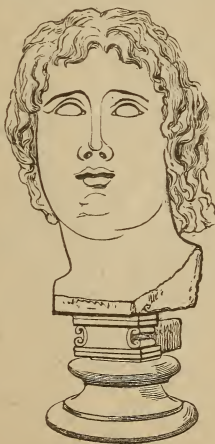
Henceforth Greece remained quiet till B.C. 324, when Alexander himself sent a proclamation ordering all exiles to be restored to their homes. By this means he hoped to strengthen the Macedonian party; but the measure called forth endless disputes about the property of the returning exiles. In addition to this, *Harpalos*, the king's treasurer, had secretly left Asia with large sums of money which were spent in attempts to incite Greece against

Macedonia. At Athens many were ready to avail themselves of the opportunity; but when Antipater demanded the surrender of Harpalos, he fled into Krete, where he was murdered by a man, who, seizing the money, escaped into Kyrene. The Athenians, frightened by the threats of Antipater, instituted proceedings against those who had received money from Harpalos. Demosthenes, one of them, being unable to pay the fine imposed upon him, fled to Trœzen, but soon afterwards he was recalled from his exile.

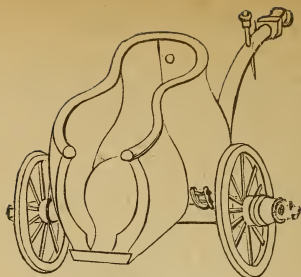
When at last the news of Alexander's death reached Athens, the people, disregarding the advice of moderate and experienced men, who urged the necessity of keeping quiet, rushed into open war, and called upon all the Greeks to assert their independence. A large army was raised, to which the Ætolians furnished a numerous contingent, and *Leosthenes* was appointed commander of the allied forces. He marched through Bœotia and took possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. At the same time the Illyrians and Thracians had risen against Macedonia, so that Antipater was placed between two fires. He first marched quickly into Thessaly, but as his Thessalian cavalry went over to Leosthenes, he threw himself into the town of *Lamia*, and made proposals of peace. The Athenians, flushed with victory, demanded the unconditional surrender of the regent. The demand was refused, and affairs soon took a different turn, for Leosthenes died of a wound, and the Ætolians returned home. About the same time the Macedonian general Leonnatos arrived with a large force from Asia in Thessaly. Antipater, the successor of Leosthenes, was obliged to raise the siege of Lamia and to fight a pitched battle against Leonnatos. Antipater, being now free, and joined by another army from Asia under the command of Krateros, fought a fierce battle near *Krannon*, B.C. 322, in which the Athenian army was twice defeated. All Thessaly surrendered at once, and the allies dispersed, each state concluding a separate peace for itself. The Athenians and Ætolians alone remained in arms.

Antipater now advanced southward demanding of the Athenians to surrender the leading enemies of Macedonia. *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, and others took to flight. The entreaties of the Athenians were of no avail; they had to pay the expenses of the war, and to receive a Macedonian garrison in the port of Munychia. At the same time the government of Athens was handed over to the wealthy, who had always been favourable to Macedonia, and only 9000 citizens retained the franchise. The fugitive patriots were sentenced to death. Demosthenes, who had taken refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Kalaureia, finding that he was dogged by the agents of Antipater, put an end to his life by poison which he had been carrying about with him for some time.

Thus ended the war against Macedonia, commonly called the Lamian War, in which Athens lost her freedom and her democratic constitution. The Macedonians now prepared to turn their arms against Ætolia, but the events which were occurring in Asia prevented this undertaking.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT



WAR CHARIOT.

CHAPTER XII.

GREECE UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER UNTIL THE TIME OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.

HENCEFORTH the history of Greece is inseparably interwoven with that of Macedonia, of which, in fact, it was at times only a sort of province. When Alexander died there was no one to succeed him, for he left behind him only a weak-minded brother and two infant sons. For a short time *Perdikkas* exercised the highest authority as regent of the whole empire. But he was murdered in B.C. 321, and the generals of Alexander claimed the sovereignty of those portions of the empire of which they had been appointed governors, and *Antigonos* even claimed the sovereignty of the whole, while *Antipater* and his son *Kassander* kept Macedonia and Greece in their hands. The wives and children of Alexander and his brother were kept in a sort of splendid captivity at Pella, and in the course of a few years all of them were murdered. The history of Alexander's family is perhaps the most tragic in all ancient history. After a great deal of fighting among the generals, there arose a great and protracted war against *Antigonos*, until at length, in B.C. 311, the vast empire was divided among the competitors. But the peace did not last long; a fresh war broke out, and five of the generals assumed the title of king. Matters, however, still remained unsettled in consequence of the pretensions of *Antigonos*. But he was killed in a great

battle fought at *Ipsos*, in B.C. 301, whereupon a peace was concluded in which Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt were recognised as independent kingdoms.

During these struggles among the generals of Alexander, Greece had of course to bear its share in them. At Athens there was a strong Macedonian party in favour of *Kassander*, the son of Antipater. It was headed by *Phokion*, and wished to retain the Macedonian garrison at *Munychia*. The democratic party, on the other hand, favoured *Polysperchon*, whom Antipater had appointed his successor, because he promised to restore to the Athenians their democratic government, and to allow the exiles to return. The democratic party gained the upper hand, and *Phokion*, being charged with treason, was put to death, in B.C. 317. A war then arose between *Kassander* and *Polysperchon*, during which nearly the whole of Peloponnesus was conquered by the latter. The Athenians, however, concluded peace with *Kassander*, in which their political independence was recognised and the franchise extended. But at the same time *Kassander* appointed the popular orator *Demetrios of Phaleron* governor of Athens, whose administration lasted from B.C. 318 to B.C. 307. At first he was extremely popular, and Athens recovered much of her former prosperity; he is even said to have been honoured by the citizens with 360 statues, but his subsequent extravagances made him an object of general detestation. During that period Greece was always the bone of contention among the Macedonian candidates for power, and almost all of them were anxious to secure the goodwill of the Greeks by promises to restore their independence. But such promises were worth very little, as no one had sufficient power to realise them. *Kassander* was at last forced by *Ptolemy*, then governor of Egypt, to quit Greece and return to Macedonia. In the peace of B.C. 311 the independence of Greece was indeed guaranteed, but a few years later *Kassander* and *Ptolemy* agreed that each of them should remain in possession of those parts of Greece which he had conquered.

In the last year of *Demetrios of Phaleron's* administra-

tion, when his unpopularity had reached the highest point, another *Demetrios* surnamed *Poliorketes*, the son of Antigonos, appeared with a large fleet off Peiræus, proclaiming himself the champion of liberty. He was most enthusiastically welcomed, and the Phalerean was allowed to depart unmolested. Demetrios kept his promise and caused large quantities of grain to be distributed among the poor, and the people in their gratitude paid him and his father almost divine honours. Being, however, of a restless disposition, Demetrios soon after quitted Athens, and hurried from one enterprise to another.

When Athens was thus left to herself, the old feuds between the democratic and Macedonian parties immediately recommenced. The former was headed by *Demochares*, a nephew of the great Demosthenes, a sincere and honest patriot, who did all he could to secure the liberty of the people; but it was all to no purpose, the Macedonian influence was too powerful. While Polysperchon was conquering Peloponnesus, Kassander invaded Attika and laid siege to Athens. The city was bravely defended by Demochares, and the sudden arrival of a fleet under Demetrios Poliorketes compelled Kassander to quit Greece. The towns thus freed from the Macedonian yoke showered all possible honours upon their deliverer, and appointed him commander of all their forces. He stayed at Athens only a short time, but greatly disappointed the people by his despotic and licentious doings and by exiling the noble Demochares. He was called away into Asia by his father, and when the latter had fallen in the battle of Ipsos, Demetrios returned to Greece, where he hoped to establish a kingdom for himself; but finding that his popularity was gone, he returned to Syria.

Meanwhile Leochares, with the support of Kassander, set himself up as tyrant at Athens, treating the people with unexampled cruelty. Demetrios, hearing of this, hastened to Athens, and took the city by storm, B.C. 295. He pardoned all previous offences, and distributed large quantities of corn among the famishing people; but, in

order to secure himself for the future, he placed strong garrisons in Munychia and Peiræus, and fortified the hill of the Museum within the city. He then marched into Peloponnesus, and appeared before the very gates of Sparta, when he was suddenly called to Macedonia, where he ascended the throne in B.C. 294. He reigned for a period of seven years, during which all Greece paid homage to him; but in a war against Pyrrhus, being deserted by his troops, he fled into Syria, where he ended his restless career as a prisoner. When Pyrrhus became king of Macedonia, the Athenians again rose in arms to assert their freedom, and the Macedonian garrisons were driven from their strongholds. Pyrrhus, instead of punishing them, generously allowed them the enjoyment of their freedom; and *Demochares*, being recalled, managed the affairs of the state in so able a manner, that for a time the Athenians might fancy that the happy days of old were returning. *Lysimachos*, the successor of Pyrrhus, also concluded friendship with Athens, and allowed her the full enjoyment of her democratic constitution.

About the year B.C. 280, swarms of *Kelts* or *Gauls* invaded Greece from the north. In Macedonia their progress was checked, though not until King *Ptolemy Keraunos* had lost his life in a battle against them. They then marched south towards Delphi, attracted, no doubt, by reports of the wealth of its temple; but when they approached Delphi, in B.C. 279, the god himself is said, by thunder and lightning, to have terrified the invaders, as he had done two centuries before, when the Persians approached the sacred city. Upon this, the Gauls dispersed, and a large body of them crossed over into Asia Minor, where, after roaming about for a long time, they settled in the country called after them *Galatia*.

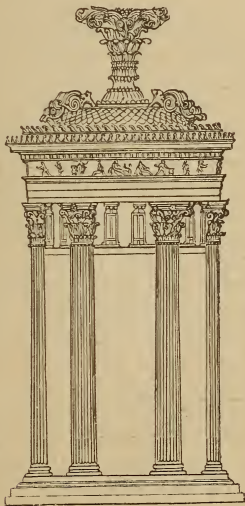
Antigonos Gonatas, who succeeded *Ptolemy Keraunos* (from B.C. 280, to B.C. 239), also claimed the sovereignty of Greece, but had to establish his claim by force of arms, and even thus succeeded only partially. In B.C. 269, he had to wage war against the Athenians, because they refused to admit a Macedonian garrison. The city was

besieged for several years, and though it was supported by Sparta and the King of Egypt, it was compelled to surrender in B.C. 262, and to receive garrisons in Munychia, Peiræus, and the Museum. But the conqueror treated the Athenians with great indulgence, for he did not interfere with their democratic constitution, and soon after even withdrew the garrison from the Museum. Athens thus enjoyed a long period of peace, though she had the mortification of seeing her port towns occupied by Macedonian troops. In B.C. 229, *Aratos*, then the head of the Achæan league, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, prevailed upon the Macedonian commander, by a bribe, to evacuate the port towns. He had hoped by this means to induce the Athenians to join the league, but they were too much weakened to join in its warlike undertakings, and henceforth withdrew from taking an active part in the affairs of Greece.

Throughout the Macedonian period, *Sparta* had shown considerable firmness in resisting the demands of the Macedonian rulers, but she had done little or nothing for the freedom of the rest of Greece, and we have seen that in B.C. 294 she narrowly escaped being conquered by *Demetrios*. The city was then surrounded by walls, which alone shows that the ancient spirit of its citizens no longer existed. The state was in fact in a wretched condition, all its wealth being accumulated in the hands of a few families, while the great mass of the people were miserably poor. The ephors had become the highest power in the state, and the kings were little more than the representatives of two ancient families.

In these circumstances King *Agis* (from B.C. 244 to B.C. 241) undertook the dangerous task of reforming the constitution and bringing it into harmony with the spirit of the times. Supported by the younger generation of Spartans, he carried several laws to relieve the poor. A fresh division of the land was made, and 4500 lots were set apart for the Spartans, and 15,000 for the Lakonians, and the small number of Spartans was to be increased by the admission of Lakonians to the franchise. These and

other measures the king thought might revive the spirit of the ancient Spartans. *Leonidas*, the other king, who opposed the reforms, was sent into exile, and all seemed to promise well. But during the absence of Agis on an expedition against the Achæans, the party opposed to reforms recalled Leonidas, and when Agis returned home, he was seized and put to death. His widow, Agiatis, as enthusiastic a reformer as her husband had been, afterwards married King *Kleomenes* (from B.C. 236 to B.C. 220), who tried by violence to complete the work begun by Agis. He had the ephors murdered, cancelled all debts, and was beginning the distribution of the land, when a war with the Achæan league broke out, the result of which, as we shall see, was the downfall of both Kleomenes and of Sparta.



MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES.



MACEDONIAN COIN.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE DOWN TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS.

THE Greeks never formed one politically united state; once only, in the war against Troy, they are said to have been united under one commander. But during the Macedonian period, it had been urged more than once by patriotic men that union alone could be of avail against Macedonian aggression. The idea at last took a practical shape among the Achæans, who had until then played a very subordinate part in the history of Greece. The Achæan towns, twelve in number, had from early times formed a loose kind of confederation among themselves; but in B.C. 280, they drew more closely together for the express purpose of driving the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus. Other towns soon joined the league, which kept on spreading over a considerable part of the country, until it reached its greatest power in B.C. 251, when *Aratos* of Sikyon became the chief, and caused his native city to join the confederacy. According to the constitution of the league, all the members formed one state, the executive of which was in the hands of an officer called *strategos*, who was elected annually and was assisted by two others, the one styled *hipparchos* and the other secretary. The seat of the government was at *Ægion*, where deputies of the confederate towns annually assembled as a sort of parlia-

ment. For a considerable time this league enjoyed the regard and esteem, not only of Greece, but even of foreign powers.

Unfortunately, however, the league not only failed in uniting all Greece, but an opposition league was formed by the *Ætolians*, who were not so much interested in the freedom of Greece, as in securing advantages for themselves. The *Ætolians* were indeed a brave and warlike people, but had not kept pace with the civilisation of the rest of Greece; they were from first to last rude, quarrelsome, faithless, and fond of plunder. The constitution of their league resembled that of the *Achæans*, and its power rose very rapidly. The seat of its government was at *Thermon*.

Aratos, who was twelve times elected strategos, was the very soul of the *Achæan* league, even when he was not in office, and the object he steadily kept in view was to unite all *Peloponnesus* under the democratic constitution of the league, and to drive away the tyrants who about that time existed in many towns under the protection of *Macedonia*. He was in many ways very successful by his eloquence and statesmanship, but he was somewhat deficient in resolution and personal courage. In B.C. 243, he drove the *Macedonian* garrison from *Korinth*, and induced its inhabitants and those of *Megara* to join the league. About B.C. 226, when he was strategos for the eleventh time, several important towns of *Peloponnesus* were gained over; but *Athens*, which, as we have seen, he delivered from its *Macedonian* garrisons, was not able to join the league.

During this period of its prosperity, the *Ætolians* evinced a hostile spirit towards the *Achæan* league, and even concluded a treaty with the *Macedonian* *Antigonos Gonatas* about a division of *Achaia*. About the same time King *Kleomenes* of *Sparta* by his reforms not only strengthened *Sparta* internally, but increased its power by subduing *Argos* and *Mantineia*; he strove, in short, to recover the ancient supremacy over the whole of *Peloponnesus*. A conflict with *Aratos* and the *Achæan*

league was thus unavoidable. Aratos declared war against Sparta, and in his eagerness forgot the objects of the league so far as to invite the aid of Macedonia against Sparta. Antigonos Doson, who was then regent of Macedonia, readily promised his assistance. In the beginning of the war Kleomenes was very successful, and defeated the Achæans in three battles. Many towns fell into his hands, and he began to lay siege to Akrokorinthos, the citadel of Korinth. At the same time he was willing to come to an understanding with Aratos, who, however, was foolish enough to deliver up that citadel to Antigonos Doson. Kleomenes made a most gallant resistance, but had to return to Sparta on account of his wife's death. In B.C. 223, Antigonos advanced into Arkadia, and gained possession of several towns, without Kleomenes being able to prevent it. The year following he invaded Lakonia with a large army. Kleomenes had pitched his camp at *Sellasia*, north of Sparta, where a great and decisive battle was fought, in B.C. 221, in which Philopoemen decided the victory of the Achæans. Kleomenes escaped with only a few horsemen to Sparta, and thence to Alexandria in Egypt, where he hoped to find protection, but found himself a prisoner, and in B.C. 220 put an end to his life. His mother and children, who had followed him in his exile, were put to death. Sparta, which had hitherto been governed by its hereditary kings ever since the Dorian conquest, now fell into the hands of Antigonos without resistance, but he treated it with moderation out of regard for its ancient glory. With Kleomenes the line of its ancient kings became extinct, and Antigonos could not stay sufficiently long to regulate the affairs of Sparta, as the Illyrians were making inroads into Macedonia.

The battle of Sellasia, though won by the Achæans, was no less fatal to them than to Sparta, for the great fortress of Korinth remained in the hands of the Macedonians, who were now governed by Philip V. (from B.C. 220 to B.C. 179), a man of great military abilities. At the very beginning of his reign, Greece was distracted by

what is called the *Social War*, which arose in the following manner. Sparta had fallen so low that a man of the name of *Lykurgos* was able to buy the royal dignity of the ephors. He at once got rid of the surviving members of the royal families, declared himself sole king, and then formed an alliance with the *Ætolians* against the *Achæans* and *Macedonia*. The war resulting from this lasted three years, during which Greeks were once more arrayed against Greeks, while the *Macedonians* traversed and ravaged Greece from one end to the other. The *Macedonian* king, however, found it necessary to leave the *Achæans* to fight their own battles, for his attention was attracted by the *Romans*, who had already gained a footing in some places on the east coast of the *Adriatic*. *Aratos*, dissatisfied with Philip's conduct, remonstrated with him, but the only result was that a few years later he was poisoned by the king's orders.

In B.C. 216, when Hannibal had defeated the *Romans* in four battles, Philip concluded a treaty with him, promising him succour, and stipulating that in the event of the *Romans* being finally defeated, the countries east of the *Adriatic* should be left to *Macedonia*. The *Romans* on hearing this, took every precaution to prevent a *Macedonian* descent upon Italy; and as they could not undertake a war against Philip so long as Hannibal was in Italy, they concluded an alliance with the *Ætolians*, B.C. 211, in which many other Greeks also joined, while Philip strengthened himself by alliances with other Greeks and with *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*. Here again unfortunately Greeks fought against Greeks for the benefit of the *Romans* and *Macedonians*. The *Ætolians* were urged on by the *Romans* to continue their hostilities against Philip; but as the *Romans*, in B.C. 206, ceased to support them, they were compelled to conclude a peace with Philip on his own terms, B.C. 205. The year after Philip also made peace with the *Romans*, who, however, retained possession of a part of *Illyricum*. Thus ended the first active interference of the *Romans* in the affairs of Greece.

Ever since the battle of Sellasia, the Achæans had become more and more weary of war, and were beginning to be indifferent. But their strategos, *Philopœmen*, an able general and statesman, revived their spirits. His first operations were directed against Sparta, where, after the death of Lykurgos, *Machanidas* had set himself up as tyrant, B.C. 211, and indulged in hostilities against the Achæans. *Philopœmen*, in B.C. 207, defeated him in a great battle near Mantinea. After *Machanidas*, *Nabis*, a monster of cruelty, usurped the tyrannis, and made the city pass through all the horrors for which the tyrants of that period are notorious in Greek history.

The peace between Philip and the Romans, according to which neither ought to have attacked the allies of the other, was broken by Philip in more ways than one. It happened that at Athens two Akarnanian youths, who were believed to have profaned some religious mysteries, were murdered by the excited populace. The Akarnanians, supported by Philip, made ravaging inroads into Attika. Hereupon the Athenians, allied with King Attalos of Pergamos and with the Rhodians, declared war against Philip, who straightway proceeded to blockade Athens with his fleet. The Athenians, assisted by a Roman fleet, repelled him, in revenge for which he laid waste the country as far as he could. In B.C. 200, the Romans, formally undertaking the protection of Attika, sent out the consul *Sulpicius Galba* with a force against Macedonia, and thus commenced the second Macedonian war. The belligerents had the same allies as before, but during the first year nothing of any importance was accomplished. In B.C. 198, *Quinctius Flaminius*, however, succeeded in gaining the Achæans over to his side, and being thus supported by them, as well as by the Ætolians, he advanced into Thessaly. As negotiations led to no satisfactory results, a great battle was fought, in B.C. 197, at a place called *Kynoskephalæ*, in which Philip was totally defeated, mainly owing to the valour displayed by the Ætolians. Peace was then concluded on condition that

Philip should withdraw his garrisons from all the Greek cities; and that the three great fortresses of Greece, Demetrias, Akrokorinthos, and Chalkis should be occupied by the Romans. The Athenians received back the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Skyros; but strange to say, Ægina was given to King Attalos. The Ætolians, to whom the victory of Kynoskephalæ was mainly due, being dissatisfied with these arrangements, openly declared that all the fair promises of Flamininus regarding the liberation of Greece were mere words, so long as the Romans themselves kept garrisons in the most important fortresses—the three fetters of Greece.

In the year after the great battle, B.C. 196, Flamininus, during the celebration of the Isthmian games and before the assembled Greeks, proclaimed the freedom and independence of their country. This proclamation was received with the most enthusiastic joy and delight by the people, who did not perceive that they had only made a change of masters. After this, Flamininus remained in Greece for some time, as Hannibal was stirring up King Antiochos of Syria against Rome, and the tyrant Nabis refused to evacuate Argos. But Flamininus compelled him not only to leave Argos, but to accept a peace on very severe terms, though his tyrannis of Sparta was left untouched. Of this both the Achæans and Ætolians complained. In order to satisfy the Greeks, the Romans, in B.C. 194, evacuated the three fortresses. But Nabis, anxious to recover certain maritime towns ceded to the Achæans, commenced war against them. The Achæans being commanded by *Philopœmen*, blockaded Sparta, and the Ætolians, pretending to assist Nabis, murdered him and took possession of the citadel; but the Spartans rose against their treacherous allies and massacred nearly the whole of them. Amid this confusion, *Philopœmen* made himself master, not only of the city, but of the whole of Lakonia, and added both to the Achæan league, which now embraced the whole of Peloponnesus.

Ever since the battle of Kynoskephalæ, the Ætolians were bitterly exasperated against the Romans, and they

now invited *Antiochos* of Syria to come to Greece, the conquest of which they represented to him as a matter of no great difficulty. In B.C. 192, the king arrived, and was at once joined by many Greek towns, but he did not bring with him a sufficient force, nor did he carry on the work with much energy; and in B.C. 191 he was defeated at Thermopylæ by the consul *Acilius Glabrio*, whereupon he returned to Asia. Another victory was soon gained over the *Ætolians*. A truce of six months was then concluded with them, at the expiration of which they resumed hostilities; but in B.C. 189 they were forced to accept a peace in which they were obliged to recognise the supremacy of Rome, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, to dismiss all non-*Ætolian* towns from their league, and to pay the expenses of the war. Their confederation was thus broken up and limited to the towns in *Ætolia* itself.

After *Philopœmen* had made himself master of Sparta, the city remained quiet for a few years; but in B.C. 188 a dispute arose between him and the Spartans. Both parties applied to the Roman Senate to decide between them; but as its answer was ambiguous, *Philopœmen* took justice into his own hands: he restored those who had been exiled by *Nabis*, put to death the leaders of the party hostile to the *Achæans*, and even went so far as to compel the Spartans to adopt a democratic form of government. The Spartans, unable to resist these revolutionary proceedings, had to submit to them with deep but suppressed indignation. In B.C. 183 the *Messenians* revolted from the *Achæans*, and *Philopœmen* had to march against them. On his way he was attacked and overpowered by some *Messenian* horsemen, who triumphantly carried him in a dying state to *Messene*. The people there condemned him to death, which he bore with a calmness and intrepidity worthy of his whole life. He was succeeded by *Lykortas*, the father of the historian *Polybios*, who recovered *Messenia* and put to death those who had taken the lead in condemning *Philopœmen*.

But peace and order were not restored by these violent measures, and the time was fast approaching when the mighty hand of Rome was to silence the petty disputes among the Greeks by depriving all their states of the power of action. For a time Philip of Macedonia quietly submitted to the peace imposed upon him by the Romans; but finding his position too humiliating, he at last began to make preparations for another war. But quarrels in his own family prevented his taking any decisive steps. By the treachery of his son Perseus, he was induced to put his only other son, Demetrios, to death, and when he discovered how he had been deceived, he was seized with the deepest remorse, and died in B.C. 179. *Perseus*, who now succeeded him, hated the Romans even more than his father had done; he continued the warlike preparations, and strengthened himself by numerous alliances. Amid these occupations the first seven years of his reign passed away, for the war did not break out until B.C. 171. During the first three years nothing of importance was effected, but a general feeling began to develop among the Greeks that they ought to support Macedonia rather than Rome. Perseus's foreign allies, however, fell away one after another, as he could not make up his mind to part with his treasures. At last, in B.C. 168, he was defeated in a great and decisive battle near *Pydna* by the Roman general *Æmilius Paullus*. Perseus took to flight, carrying his treasures with him, but was overtaken and sent to Rome as a prisoner.

During this war the Achæans, though reluctantly, had fought on the side of the Romans, but after the war a great many were denounced as having either openly or secretly favoured the cause of Macedonia. In consequence of this, upwards of 1000 Achæans, and among them the historian Polybios, were arrested and sent to Rome, where they were distributed among various towns of Italy, and kept as hostages. For seventeen years they remained in this condition, and when in B.C. 151 they were allowed to return to their own country, their number was reduced by deaths to 300. The *Ætolians*, who

had incurred the same suspicion, were treated with much more severity, for upwards of 500 of the most distinguished among them were put to death, and large numbers were sold into slavery.

These were severe blows, but worse were yet to come. It would appear that the Athenians at this time were reduced to such a state of poverty that they had recourse to plundering *Oropos*, a town in their own territory. A complaint was made to the Roman Senate, and commissioners were appointed to inquire into the matter. The Athenians, refusing to appear before them, were sentenced to pay a fine of 500 talents. Being unable to raise that sum, they addressed a petition to the Senate to mitigate the verdict, and the fine was actually reduced to 100 talents. A short time later the Athenians repeated the outrage upon *Oropos*, which now applied for redress to the Achæans, and a stern decree of the latter sufficed to protect *Oropos* against similar outrages.

Meanwhile a pretender had arisen in Macedonia, who, calling himself Philip and a son of Perseus, claimed the throne. The Macedonians, detesting the Roman yoke, readily believed his story, and flocked around his standard. In the ensuing war the pretender at first gained some advantages, but in B.C. 148, Cæcilius Metellus defeated and afterwards carried him to Rome in triumph. During this war the Greeks indulged in petty but impotent acts of hostility towards the Romans. Metellus, who, like many other great Romans, liked the Greeks and felt interested in them, advised them to keep quiet, and promised that their grievances should be looked into by Roman commissioners. When these latter arrived at Corinth, the assembled Achæans received them in the most insolent and unbecoming manner. An embassy sent by Metellus himself fared no better, and the Achæans, goaded on by their desperate and reckless leaders, foolishly declared war against Rome. Metellus, after having settled the affairs of Macedonia and reduced Thessaly, marched with his army into Bœotia, B.C. 147. *Kritolaos*, the Achæan strategos, had intended to check

the progress of the Romans at Thermopylæ, but he came too late, and after being twice defeated, he fled and was never heard of again.

The Achæans now began to see their folly, for while Metellus entered Bœotia, a Roman fleet landed a force in Peloponnesus and ravaged the country. *Diæos*, now strategos of the Achæans and a most implacable enemy of the Romans, assembled the remaining forces of the Achæans and a large body of armed slaves in the neighbourhood of Korinth. Metellus, after destroying the city of Thebes, advanced towards Megara, and once more tried to persuade the Greeks to lay down their arms; but all offers were rejected by the infatuated *Diæos*. During these negotiations, the period of Metellus's command came to an end, and he was succeeded by *L. Mummius*, a rude soldier, who had no sympathy with the Greeks. He occupied the isthmus with a large army; and at a place called *Leukopetra*, near Korinth, he fought a battle, in B.C. 146, which decided the fate of Greece for ever. When *Diæos* found that all was lost, he fled with a small body of his followers to Megalopolis, his native place, where he killed his wife, and then took poison and set his house on fire, in order that nothing belonging to him might fall into the hands of the Romans.

Three days after the battle, Mummius entered Korinth, which he ordered to be sacked and destroyed by fire: all the male inhabitants were massacred, and the rest sold as slaves. The Achæan and all other confederations in Greece were dissolved, and the territory of Korinth became Roman domain land. The whole of Peloponnesus was so fearfully ravaged by the Roman soldiery that the country was almost changed into a wilderness. Many of the severe measures adopted at first were afterwards relaxed, and many of the Greek cities, even under the dominion of Rome, continued to enjoy a kind of municipal freedom. Whether Greece was at once constituted as a Roman province under the name of Achaia, is uncertain; its political life, however, was extinguished, and whatever advantages it still continued to enjoy, it owed

to its pre-eminence in the arts and in literature, which continued to flourish for centuries longer, and made Athens in particular a centre of attraction to young men from all parts of the world who wished to secure that high mental culture which was not to be obtained anywhere else.



PERSIAN KING.



COIN OF KORINTH.

APPENDIX

GIVING A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, FROM B.C. 146 TO THE ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE, 1862.

AFTER the capture of Corinth, Greece for the first time became entirely subject to a foreign power, and its history henceforth is that of a two thousand years' agony under foreign dominion.

For more than 450 years, from B.C. 146 to A.D. 324, the Romans exercised their supremacy over Greece, and were succeeded by the Byzantine emperors, from A.D. 324 to 1453. The latter were not indeed a foreign power, for the eastern empire was essentially Greek, but still entirely different from the genuine ancient Hellenism, and while it lasted, the country of the Greeks was constantly invaded by barbarians from the north, the east, and the south, and several parts of it fell into their hands. Lastly, during upwards of 400 years (from 1453 to 1821) the Greeks were under the cruel and brutal

tyranny of the Turks, who still rule over the greater part of the country.

During these 2000 years, the Greeks never quietly acknowledged the right of foreigners to rule over them, but were nearly always in a state of insurrection against their oppressors. Although deprived of their national independence, they always managed in their towns and cities to preserve a kind of local self-government, and though oppressed by the overwhelming power of their conquerors, their innate genius, their language, and their literature always exercised a certain intellectual and moral supremacy even over their oppressors. This strength of their national life and their intelligence have in the end procured their freedom and independence.

CHAPTER I.

GREECE UNDER THE ROMANS (B.C. 146 TO A.D. 324).

It has already been stated that at first the Greeks continued to enjoy a kind of municipal freedom, for every important town continued to be governed by one of its own citizens, and the best of the Romans were ready to do homage to the genius of their conquered subjects, and were proud of being familiar with their language and literature; by their education they were Hellenised, they spoke and wrote Greek, and regarded Greece as their intellectual mother. Even emperors were proud of being citizens of Athens. But unfortunately this very superiority of the Greeks over their conquerors also excited the envy and hatred of the Roman people, and the name *Græculus*, at first a friendly and flattering appellation, afterwards became an expression of contempt.

The natural position of Greece often made it the battle-field in the wars of the Romans, both against other

nations and among themselves. This circumstance kept the Greeks in constant readiness to seize any opportunity of recovering their freedom, but threw the country into ever-increasing misfortunes. Thus about the beginning of the first century B.C., *Mithradates*, king of Pontus, after having driven the Romans from Asia Minor, proceeded to make war on them even in Europe, for which he sought and obtained the alliance of the Greeks. He sent numerous armies into Greece, where they were joined by Lakedæmonians, Achæans, Thebans, and more especially by the patriotic Athenians. Mithradates was at first successful, and for a short time Greece enjoyed its ancient freedom. The Romans, roused by the threatening danger, in B.C. 87, sent *L. Cornelius Sulla* to Greece, who succeeded in reducing most of the revolted towns. Peiræus was closely blockaded; the Athenians alone held out, but were compelled by famine in the year following to surrender. The rage of the conqueror was terrible: Peiræus was entirely destroyed, and the city of Athens was the scene of an indiscriminate massacre. Thousands of citizens were butchered, and as many more sold into slavery. Thebes and other towns experienced the same fate. The richest and most beautiful temples at Delphi, Olympia, and Epidauros were plundered, and their costly treasures in gold and silver were converted into money. The most beautiful and valuable works of art were conveyed to Rome, and many were lost in the sea during the transport.

Not very long after this destructive war, Pompey and Julius Cæsar, the two most eminent Roman generals of the time, contending for the sovereignty, became involved in a civil war which divided the whole empire into two hostile parties. The Greeks, ever hoping to recover their freedom, took part in the terrible contest which raged and was decided in Greece. The Athenians, Bœotians, and Peloponnesians sided with Pompey, while the Akarnanians, Ætolians, and a portion of the Epirots supported Cæsar, who ultimately defeated his rival in the great battle of Pharsalos in Thessaly, B.C. 48. All

Greece had now to submit to him, but he treated the people with more clemency than Sulla had done; the Megarians alone were severely dealt with. The Athenians, whose ancient glory he respected and admired, were honoured with presents; and Korinth, which ever since its destruction by Mummius had been in ruins, was rebuilt in B.C. 46.

Two years later, after Cæsar was murdered at Rome, a new civil war broke out in Greece between *Antony* and *Octavianus* on the one hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other. The Athenians again rose in arms and joined the latter, while the Lakedæmonians united their forces with the former. Antony and Octavianus utterly defeated their opponents in B.C. 42 in the great battles of Philippi, and then divided the Roman empire between themselves. Greece fell into the hands of Antony, who having himself been educated in Greece, treated the Athenians with considerable generosity, and often took up his abode in their illustrious city, imitating their manners and customs and proud of being called a Philhellene and Philathenæos (a friend of the Greeks and a friend of the Athenians).

But the peace did not last long, and another civil war broke out between Antony and Octavianus, which again was carried on in the country of the Greeks, most of whom supported Antony. The latter was completely overpowered by his rival, in B.C. 31, in the battle of Aktion. Octavianus, or, as he was afterwards called, Augustus, treated the Greeks with kindness; he ordered the town of Patræ to be rebuilt, and on the spot where he had gained his great victory he built, in commemoration of it, the town of Nikopolis (city of victory). Patræ and Athens soon became the most populous and richest cities of Greece. The peace which the Roman empire enjoyed under Augustus and his successors, also exercised its beneficial influence upon Greece, and many of its towns, especially Athens, retained their ancient self-government. Some of the first emperors, however, such as Caligula and Nero, carried away many of the art treasures of

Greece ; while others, such as Trajan and especially Hadrian, neglected no opportunity of showing their affection and respect to the enslaved Greeks. Hadrian often resided in his beloved Athens, embellished it with public buildings, and was even proud of the title of Archon Eponymos of Athens.

But notwithstanding all this, the condition of Greece became worse from year to year ; the many and bloody wars had depopulated the country ; the insecurity of property destroyed its commerce and industry, and the rapacity of the Romans reduced the wealthiest towns to poverty. The corrupting influence of the coarser manners of the Romans and of their gladiatorial games also exercised a demoralising influence upon the people, and depraved their taste in art and literature.

While the country was in this sad condition, it was threatened by a terrible danger from the north. The *Goths*, who occupied part of modern Russia and Northern Germany, commenced their invasions of the Roman empire, destroying everywhere whatever came in their way, and in the year 253 threatened to overrun Greece. The Greeks, as in the days of Xerxes, occupied the pass of Thermopylæ, the Athenians rebuilt their walls, and the Peloponnesians fortified the Korinthian isthmus. By this means and the fact that the Goths were defeated by the Romans in Thrace, Greece was saved on that occasion ; but in 267 the Goths invaded Greece by sea and destroyed Korinth, Argos, and many other towns both on the mainland and in the islands. The Athenians, after a most heroic resistance, were overpowered ; their fair city was plundered, destroyed, and deluged with blood. After destroying the monuments, the barbarians also intended to burn the manuscripts in the libraries, when one of them saved them by contemptuously exclaiming, "Leave the Greeks their books, for while they are occupied with them, they will neglect the use of arms, and be conquered all the more easily." While the Goths after their victory were giving themselves up to barbarous revelries, the historian Dexippos, the bold general of the

Athenians, assembled the remaining forces, took the barbarians by surprise and utterly defeated them. Those who escaped into Illyricum were almost annihilated by the Emperor Gallienus. Two years later, the Goths in still greater numbers, attacked Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece proper, with 2000 ships, but were everywhere repulsed by the Emperor Claudius and the Greeks. Since that time, Greece for two centuries was free from barbarian invasions, but suffered much during the continual disturbances within the Roman empire, which was becoming weaker and weaker.

The most important event which took place in Greece, and through it exercised its influence over the whole of the civilised world, was the spread of Christianity. About the middle of the first century after Christ, the apostle *Paul* had preached Christianity in Macedonia, especially at Thessalonike, and converted many Greeks. Being persecuted, he went to Athens, where he preached the Gospel, though apparently without much success. Thence he proceeded to Korinth, where he was more successful, and whence Christianity rapidly spread over many parts of Greece. At that time the Greek language was spoken and understood by nearly all the nations round the Mediterranean: Egypt and a great portion of Asia had been Hellenised through the victories of Alexander the Great. This general diffusion of the Greek language was the great external means by which the new religion was easily made known throughout the ancient world.

The Roman empire was decaying more and more, and its downfall was fast approaching; but there still existed on the other hand the elements of a better state of things, consisting in the vigorous and manly intellect of the Greeks, and in the irresistible strength of Christianity. This appears to have been perceived by the Emperor Constantine, commonly called the Great (306-337), who founded the Byzantine empire and publicly recognised and established Christianity in his dominions.

CHAPTER II.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, FROM 330 TO 1453.

Constantine's mother, Helena, seems to have sown the seeds of Christianity into the heart of her son, for he was born and brought up as a pagan. He became emperor in 306, and being involved in a war with Maxentius, is said before the battle to have seen a luminous cross in the sky with the inscription—"With this conquer." He regarded this sign as an indication of his future greatness, and from that time he favoured the Christians. Henceforth he devised a new standard for his armies called the *labarum*, with the monogram of the name of Christ, and this *labarum* has ever since remained the symbol of the Greek nation. Under him Christianity became the religion of the empire; Christian churches were richly endowed and protected, and Sunday was set apart as a day specially devoted to worship. The lower classes of the population, which had sunk into terrible misery through the long wars and revolutions, were taken care of by his wisdom and firmness, and order and justice were maintained by him with a firm hand.

His far-seeing wisdom is perhaps nowhere more striking than in his selection of a site for his eastern capital. He seems to have been convinced that the western part of the empire could not endure much longer, and therefore transferred the seat of power into the eastern or Greek part of his dominions. In the year 330 he built on the site of the ancient Byzantium the capital of the Eastern empire, called after himself *Constantinopolis*. Its situation is one of the most splendid in the whole world, and most favourable for commerce as well as for war. Many of the treasures of art and monuments of religion were transferred from the ancient to the *new Rome*, and the city was embellished with palaces and splendid public buildings, while extensive walls and towers were built for its defence. Eminent men from

all parts of the empire were invited to settle at Constantinople, and a numerous population was attracted by privileges and other advantages. Though by birth a Roman, he was a Greek at heart, honoured and protected several towns of Greece, and was proud of being called General of the Athenians.

The Greek empire and Christianity were thus established about the same time, and in 364 the Eastern empire was finally separated from that of the West.

Julian (361-363), one of the successors of Constantine, a man of great genius, a brave warrior, and a wise politician, had deeply studied the philosophy and literature of the ancient Greeks, and in his enthusiasm for them formed the strange determination to revive the religion of Olympus and to eradicate Christianity, though he did not persecute the Christians. This extraordinary scheme, though perverse and utterly impracticable, nevertheless exercised a beneficial influence on the Greeks: their cities and their philosophical schools, especially that of Athens, enjoyed a brief period of revival; but his designs were frustrated, as his successors returned to Christianity.

About the end of the fourth century, the Goths under their king *Alaric* renewed their inroads into Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. They forced the pass of Thermopylæ, and for a whole year ravaged Bœotia, Attika, Korinth, and the whole of Peloponnesus. Athens alone was saved by the payment of a large sum of money. Being at last driven out of Peloponnesus, they marched back through the west of Greece and Epirus into the western parts of Europe, where they assisted in putting an end to the Latin empire, 476. The Eastern or Byzantine empire, which more and more developed its Greek character, maintained its independence for nearly a thousand years longer. But the inroads of the barbarians did not cease, and especially the *Vandals*, after having taken possession of a large portion of Northern Africa, infested the coasts of Greece as pirates, but were each time successfully repelled by the imperial troops.

The great Emperor *Justinian* (527-555), through his able generals *Belisarius* and *Narses*, conquered the Vandals and Gothic tribes which had made themselves masters of Italy and North Africa, and reunited both countries with his large empire. He ordered the most eminent lawyers to compile a great code of laws (*Corpus Juris Civilis*), partly written in Latin and partly in Greek, which has become the basis of the laws of nearly all European nations. In his reign silkworms are said to have been introduced into Europe from China. Trade and commerce were very flourishing under him. The magnificent church of Holy Wisdom (*Saint Sophia*) at Constantinople, was built in his reign; 10,000 men are said to have been engaged upon it for six years.

As *Justinian* had conquered the Vandals and Goths, so *Heraklios* (610-641) repelled in victorious battles the Persians, who had founded a new Persian empire in the third century after Christ, and continually plundered the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and even threatened Constantinople itself.

About the beginning of the eighth century the empire was threatened by a new danger from Asia. The Arabs, inspired by the new religion of *Mahomed*, attempted to effect its general diffusion among the nations of the earth by force of arms. They invaded the Greek provinces of Asia Minor, and even blockaded Constantinople. But the emperor, *Leo*, the Isaurian (717-741), by his bravery and skill, overpowered them, and burned the fleet by what is called the "Greek fire." The same *Leo* attempted to forbid the worship of images in the churches, an example which was followed by several of his successors (who are hence called *iconoclasts*, or breakers of images), and for a whole century caused fearful disturbances in the empire. While the empire was secured on the side of Asia, it was still open to inroads of the *Bulgarians* and *Slavonians*. The former, a warlike nation, of Turkish origin, ravaged the northern parts of the empire, and conquered the northern districts of Thrace, where they settled, and gave to the country the name of Bulgaria.

The *Slavonians* and *Wallachians*, tribes of a more peaceful disposition, settled in Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and the rest of Greece, adopted Christianity, and by degrees also the Greek language, so that they peacefully amalgamated with the Greeks; but some of them have continued to live isolated, as shepherds, down to the present day, and their name has become synonymous with shepherds.

For more than five centuries the Byzantine emperors were of Roman descent: Byzantium was the new Rome, and the empire was called the Roman. The language of the government, especially at first, was generally Latin; but the irresistible influence of the Greek language and of the Church, in the course of time imperceptibly Hellenised even the emperors of Roman origin and the whole government.

In the year 867, *Basilios*, the Macedonian, was the first in a succession of genuine Greek emperors, who continued to occupy the throne until the downfall of the empire. Under them the last remnants of the Roman element entirely disappeared. *Basilios* and his successors, *Nikephoros Phokas* (963-969), *Joannes Zimisces* (969-976), and *Basilios II.* (976-1025), were great both as warriors and as statesmen. They repelled the Arabs in the East and in the South, and also took from them the island of Krete; while in the North and West they defeated and subdued the Bulgarians. About that time the *Russians*, an equally barbarous people, under their king, *Igor* (941), advanced upon Constantinople, with 10,000 boats, but were entirely defeated by *Phokas*, and their fleet destroyed by the Greek fire. In the year 955 the Russian queen *Olga* went to Constantinople, and was there converted to Christianity, and baptized under the name of *Helena*. *Vladimir*, 980, the most famous of the old Russian kings, also requested to be baptized by Greek priests. He received the name of *Basilios*, and married *Anna*, the sister of *Basilios*, who was then emperor. *Anna*, on going to Russia, was accompanied by a number of Greek scholars and artisans, to

whom Russia owes the first elements of Christianity and of civilisation.

During three centuries the empire was powerful, tranquil, and prosperous; and commerce and navigation flourished. Literature and science were so much cultivated among the Greeks that they not unjustly looked upon the western nations as barbarians. Theology and pulpit eloquence, which, even during previous centuries, under such men as Joannes Chrysostomos, Basilios, and Gregorios, had risen to a height never surpassed, were studied and cultivated with great zeal. Public morality, though low and depraved, as is always the case under despotic governments, was still far better than it had been in Rome under the emperors. To this period also belongs the eventful separation (schism) of the Greek from the Roman Church. The pretensions of *Pope Nicolaus* were vigorously and successfully repelled by the patriarch *Photios* (858-891), the greatest scholar of his age, who exposed the unchristian character of the Papacy, both in its dogmas and in its conduct. Since then the Papacy has displayed an implacable hatred of everything Greek, and the nations of the West were urged to make war upon the Byzantine empire, the riches of which furnished an additional incitement.

As early as the year 1080, *Robert Guiscard*, prince of lower Italy, invaded Epirus and Thessaly, but Alexis Komnenos repelled him. In the year 1146, Robert II., king of Sicily, took possession of the island of Kerkyra, which, however, was soon recovered by the Greeks, and attacked and ravaged Korinth and other Greek cities. At last, in the year 1204, the *Venetians*, accompanied by several French princes and a powerful fleet, assailed and took Constantinople. The city was plundered, and, inflamed by fanaticism, the conquerors slaughtered several thousand men. They proclaimed one of themselves emperor, and distributed the portions of the empire which they had conquered among several independent chiefs. Only three large Greek provinces remained unconquered and under Greek rulers—viz. in Asia Minor

Nikæa and *Trapezus*, and *Epirus* in Europe. The principality of *Nikæa*, owing to the valour and skill of its rulers, *Theodoros Laskaris* and *Joannes Dukas*, became the most important. But the power of the foreign conquerors did not last long, partly on account of the feuds and discord among the Frankish princes themselves, and partly on account of the great hostility between Greeks and Franks. At last, in the year 1261, *Alexis Strategopulos*, general of *Michael Palæologos*, prince of *Nikæa*, having discovered a subterraneous passage leading into Constantinople, entered the city by night with 800 men, and became master of it; and *Michael Palæologos* soon after entered the city with great pomp. Thus the Venetian empire of Constantinople came to an end, after an existence of half a century; but the greater part of Peloponnesus, of continental Greece, and of the islands, remained for centuries in the hands of the Venetians.

Scarcely had the empire been partially freed from the western conquerors when it was threatened by a more serious danger from the east. The *Turks*, after having conquered several Greek provinces in Asia, appeared, under their leader, *Ourkhan*, on the Hellespont, and conquered *Kallipolis*. His son, *Murat* (1359-1389), made himself master of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, and a great part of Thrace, *Adrianopolis* becoming the residence of the Turkish sultans. His successors continued irresistibly to extend their conquests. Meanwhile (1440), *Constantine Palæologos*, brother of the Emperor of Byzantium, and prince of that part of Peloponnesus still belonging to the empire, succeeded in driving the Venetians, not only from the peninsula, but from *Attika* and the whole of northern Greece. But the Venetians now applied for assistance to the *Turks*, who, united with the *Franks*, in the neighbourhood of *Korinth* (1446) conquered *Constantine*, who thereupon withdrew to his possessions in Peloponnesus. The *Turks*, fired by religious fanaticism, and in their wild valour, were invincible. One man only was a match for them—that was *Georgios Kastriotes*, commonly called *Skanderbeg*, prince of

Albania, in northern Epirus, one of the grandest heroes in history. During five-and-twenty years he fought successfully against the numerous hosts, and his name was the terror of the Turks, while it inspired the Greeks with hope. It was only after his death that Albania was conquered, and the greater part of the Albanians was forced to adopt the religion of Islam.

Constantinople was thus gradually surrounded on all sides by Turkish conquests. Peloponnesus and part of continental Greece were the only portions of the great empire that were not subdued, when, in the year 1453, in the month of April, Sultan Mahomed II., a wild but able warrior, approached Constantinople with an army of 300,000 men, and 400 ships. The chivalrous Emperor Constantine Palæologos assembled the feeble remains of his forces, and with them resolved to resist the enemy even unto death. It was in vain that he had implored the assistance of the Pope and the Western princes. The former promised help, but only on condition of the Greeks acknowledging his supremacy, and reuniting with the Roman Catholic Church. But the Emperor and all the people of Constantinople exclaimed, "The Turkish turban is a thousand times better than the Papal tiara." There was now no other hope, and they resolved to die honourably. For seven weeks the Turks continued their furious assaults upon the city, but were each time repulsed by the brave determination of the Greeks. The barbarians began to despair. Mahomed, maddened with anger and shame, then put himself at the head of his forces, declared that the lives and property of the conquered should belong to the soldiers, but the land and the stones to himself. By this means he inspired his men with fresh courage, who were at the same time goaded on from behind by their officers with lashes and sticks. At last, on the 29th of May, the Turks succeeded in scaling the walls of the city, and Constantine, addressing the survivors of his subjects, said, "As it is not God's will that we should save our country by our blood, let us at least leave to our descendants an example of virtue and valour, that they

may preserve their faith and nationality." For three days the Turks continued the butchery of the people and the devastation of their homes. The streets were covered with blood and corpses, and nothing was heard but the shrieks and lamentations of the victims, and the shouting and laughing of the barbarians. The sultan himself set the example of cruelty as he had done that of bravery; for he ordered the body of Constantine, who had been slain by the enemy, together with his faithful followers, to be searched for among the corpses, trampled his head under his feet, cut it off, and sent it as a trophy into Asia. All the surviving members of the imperial family and all the notables of the empire were butchered before his eyes, while he was enjoying himself at a banquet; and a fair maiden, of the name of Irene, was beheaded by himself, before the eyes of his soldiers. On the third day he ordered the slaughtering to be stopped, and to carry the rich booty to the ships. The fleet was filled with treasures of every kind, and thousands of men and women were carried into Asia to be sold as slaves. Thousands of manuscripts of ancient Greek authors were destroyed, or were sold for a mere trifle. The Greeks who had been able to escape took refuge in some Greek islands and in Italy. Among the latter there were many famous Greek scholars, who introduced a knowledge of the Greek language and literature into Italy, and thus paved the way for the revival of letters in the West, and for the Protestant Reformation, which was the result of it. The most illustrious among these exiled Greeks were Constantine and John Laskaris, Theodore Gazis, Bessarion, Chalkokondylas, Kallergis, and Mussuros.

CHAPTER III.

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS, FROM 1453 TO 1821.

AFTER having satisfied the rapacity of his soldiers, Mahomed proceeded to organise his conquest. All Greeks were declared slaves, who had no right to possess anything, and their very lives were at the mercy of the conquerors. Every Greek, therefore, from his tenth year, had to pay an annual tribute (*haratzsch*), which was to prove that he had purchased his life of the sultan for one year. All the land was declared to be the property of the ruler, and was given partly to Turkish dignitaries, or set apart for the religious purposes of the Turks. All possessions, even the smallest, left to the Greeks were regarded as a gracious gift of the sultan, which however might be taken away at any time. The oppressive tribute, which was constantly and arbitrarily increased, rendered every kind of industry and commerce almost impossible, and when a man acquired wealth, it was at the risk of his life, for he was at once suspected of endeavouring to raise himself above the condition of slavery. But the most fearful tribute the Christians had to pay was this: One-fifth of all Christian boys were annually forced away from their families and educated in the religion of Islam, and out of them was formed the corps of *Janissaries*, who by their savage valour became the terror of the Christians themselves. Many Greek mothers, in order to free their sons from this terrible fate, killed them with their own hands, and then put an end to their own lives. Under such a government, mental culture, commerce, and industry were impossible. Among all the misfortunes which the Greek nation had to endure ever since the conquest of Korinth, this was the most terrible, and the nation would have perished had it not been for the stupidity of its savage tyrants, and the noble patriotism of its priests. The Turks, stupid, ignorant, and indolent, could not and would not take the trouble to govern their

Christian slaves. They found it most convenient and comfortable to have to deal with a single individual, representing the whole Greek nation, whom they held responsible, and whom they might on the slightest suspicion put to death. This person was the *Patriarch*, who after the fall of the empire remained the highest dignitary of the Greek nation. Fortunately there lived at the time a priest of the name of *Georgios Gennadios*, one of the greatest scholars of his age, and a profound and energetic politician, to whom the eyes of all the Greeks were then directed, and who about that time was raised to the dignity of patriarch. Mahomed recognised him as the head of the Greek nation, and showed him personally great respect on account of his genius and eloquence, but at the same time held him responsible for the nation. Gennadios organised the patriarchate as both the political and ecclesiastical government of the Greeks. In every province the bishop, dependent on the patriarch, became the political as well as the ecclesiastical guide and teacher of the Greeks, and his duties consisted not only in regulating the affairs of the Church, but in governing his diocese also politically. He was the freely-acknowledged judge in all private affairs. He had to superintend the schools which preserved the language, as well as the churches which upheld the religion of the nation, and both together preserved the national character of the people. Thus it happened that in their disputes among themselves, the Greeks never appeared in Turkish courts of justice. As the bishop of a province was dependent on the patriarch, so the lower clergy in the villages were dependent on the bishop, and carried on the same patriotic business. In all their daily prayers the priests and bishops implored God to give them the victory over the barbarians. Another truly patriotic power, that of the *Primates* (*Archontes*), was united with and subject to this ecclesiastical hierarchy. These *primates* were freely elected by the people themselves to regulate all their civil affairs; they collected the different tributes, and handed them over to the Turkish authorities;

they protected the people against the arbitrary proceedings of the Turkish civil and military powers, partly by persuading and partly by bribing the pashas. They also regulated the revenues of every commune, and administered them with perfect freedom. They, like the priests, were recognised by the Turks as the representatives of the people, but, like the priests, they were also responsible for them. Thus the clergy and the primates preserved the nationality and self-government of the Greek nation even under the oppressive rule of the Turkish tyrants, and kept their people in absolute separation from the Turks. Hence no marriage ever took place between Turks and Greeks; no Greek adopted the religion of Mahomed, and no intercourse existed between the two nations. The only feeling between them was that of burning hatred. But priests and primates had often to seal their patriotic mission with their blood, for at every rising of the Greek people, and whenever a suspicion arose, they were the first victims, whether they were patriarchs of Constantinople, bishops, or the poorest priests and primates of a commune.

Independently of the clergy and the primates, the most important elements of the Greek nation under the Turkish dominion consisted of what were called the *Klephts*. This was the name of the warlike and invincible mountaineers of Epirus, Thessaly, Akarnania, Ætolia, Arkadia, and Maina (Lakonia). Those mountainous countries had always been inhabited by warlike tribes, and since the Turkish conquest, all men who loved their freedom and refused to recognise the Turkish dominion, had taken refuge there. From their mountains they carried on a perpetual war against the Turks, led an entirely free life, and kept up an uninterrupted rebellion against the enemies of their country and their faith. Protected by their mountains, they despised the attacks of the Turks, and sometimes they unexpectedly fell upon their enemies like flashes of lightning. They were always in commotion, and, being as cautious as they were bold, they became the terror of the Turks. Their whole

life and happiness was to carry on war ; to die on a sick bed was regarded by them as the greatest misfortune and the greatest shame. The love of war was united with that of song and poetry, and every successful exploit against the Turks was immediately celebrated in song. These songs are among the most beautiful of popular poems, and are like an epic history of that uninterrupted armed protestation of the Greek mountaineers against Turkish tyranny, and through them all there runs a firm belief that a time will come when the nation shall be free again. The Greek nation after the Turkish conquest thus lived under these three protecting elements.

Let us now return to the conquerors. Mahomed was not satisfied with the conquest of Northern Greece ; he also made himself master of the island of Eubœa and of Athens (where he changed the Parthenon into a mosque), and penetrated into Peloponnesus. Most of the cities and fortresses of Peloponnesus, as well as most of the islands, were then governed by the Venetians, who henceforth became involved in bloody wars with the Turks which lasted for nearly 300 years. These wars were disastrous for the Greeks, for their country was the perpetual scene of these protracted contests, and they always found themselves between two enemies, each of whom aimed at the enslaving of Greece and the destruction of its people.

In those times, therefore, the position of the Greeks was most deplorable, for when they sided with the Venetians the most terrible vengeance was wreaked upon them by the Turks (on one occasion all the inhabitants of a village in Peloponnesus were sawn through in the middle for this offence) ; and if they supported the Turks, which scarcely ever happened, the Venetians treated them with almost equal cruelty (in one case they carried off from a single town 2000 Greeks, whom they sold as slaves) ; and when they remained neutral, they were tortured by both. Still the Greeks could not remain indifferent, for they still cherished the hope of recovering their freedom by their arms. The Venetians seemed to them a lesser evil, partly because they were Christians,

and partly because the cunning Italians always held out to them the hope of freedom, if once the Turks were conquered. Their object, however, was to retain a firm hold on Greece, and to ruin its commerce and navy, in which they fully succeeded. The large silk manufactories of Athens and Korinth, which ever since the days of Justinian had been the first in Europe, were destroyed and transplanted to Venice and Genoa.

In the year 1522 the great *Suliman I.* became master of the island of Rhodos, though not without great efforts, for the Greeks, united with the Venetians and the Knights Templars, defended themselves most heroically. The survivors of the knights took refuge in Malta. Soon after the Turks conquered several islands, and laid siege to Kerkyra, but being repulsed by the inhabitants and the Venetians, they laid waste Zakynthos, Kephallenia, and other islands. Not long after he gained possession of the remaining Venetian fortresses in Peloponnesus, which induced the Venetians to solicit the friendship of the Turk.

His successor, *Selim*, took the large and beautiful island of Kyprus from the Venetians, after a furious contest which had lasted a whole year from 1570 to 1571. This war attracted the attention of all the western nations on account of the heroic resistance of the inhabitants and the mad cruelty of the barbarians. In the city of Leukosia 20,000 men were slaughtered, and 40,000 sold as slaves. The town of Phramagusta capitulated after a brave resistance of ten months, being solemnly promised that the lives of the inhabitants would be spared, and that they would be allowed to depart unmolested. But this promise was broken as usual, and when the gates were opened, the men were butchered and the rest of the population carried off as slaves. Soon after, however, the barbarians suffered a severe loss, for the whole Turkish fleet, consisting of 200 ships, was entirely destroyed off Naupaktos by the allied fleets of the Venetians, the Pope, and the Emperor, under the command of Don Juan of Austria. Nearly the whole of

the Venetian fleet on that occasion was manned by Greeks, who as usual fought with enthusiasm for Christianity and their own independence.

Kreta, the largest and most important island in the Greek seas, still owned the supremacy of the Venetians, and the struggle to retain possession of it lasted for thirty years; but the end of it was that the Venetians kept only a few fortresses in the island, and seeing the danger of losing all, they applied for help to all the Christian nations. France was almost the only power that sent out the flower of its nobility, and an army of 6000 men under the Dukes of Beaufort and Navarre. The Turks under Achmed Kyprisli, equally famous for his military ability, as for his diplomatic skill, in the end (1670) succeeded in wresting the whole island from the Venetians, whose dominion in Greece for a time came to an end. But a few years later, 1685, the Venetians, commanded by the celebrated *Morosini*, and assisted by the Greeks, recovered the whole of Peloponnesus, and the year after Athens also fell into their hands. It was on that occasion that a Venetian bomb destroyed the Parthenon, which had been used by the Turks as a powder magazine. After *Morosini*'s death, the Venetians lost their conquests one after another, and in 1699 they concluded a peace with the Turks, in which Peloponnesus alone was left to them. But in 1715, under Achmed III., the Turks also conquered that peninsula, and since then all the countries inhabited by Greeks have belonged to Turkey, with the exception of the Ionian Islands, which in 1797 became subject to France, afterwards to Russia, and in 1815 were placed under the protection of England.

But from that time the Turkish power became weaker and weaker, while they gave the reins to their rapacity, cruelty, and other vices. Even before that time they had ceased to force Christian children to embrace the religion of Islam, whereby they lost their best soldiers. The Greeks, on the other hand, although suffering every kind of insult and ignominy, gradually began to recover themselves. Their provincial self-government was gra-

dually more fully developed, and owing to the gross ignorance of the Turks they contrived, at the end of the seventeenth century, to insinuate themselves as grand dragomans or interpreters, doing all the business of the foreign office of the empire, and thus gained considerable influence in all the affairs of the state, and had many opportunities of secretly supporting and benefiting their unhappy countrymen. Under their protection schools were established in all parts of the country. The most distinguished among these patriotic men was Alexander Maurokordatos, eminent both for his learning and his skill as a politician. Soon after these Greeks of Constantinople obtained from the Turks the suzerainty of Moldavia and Wallachia. The first of them was Nicholas Maurokordatos, son of Alexander, and like his father, an eminent scholar and politician. The Greek princes, who governed these provinces until 1821, were the first to introduce civilisation into those semi-barbarous countries, and by their enlightened measures promoted the education and commerce of the Greeks, who were gradually rising in material prosperity under the watchful care of the Church, the primates, and the secret protection of the wealthy Greeks at Constantinople and elsewhere.

But this revival of the Greek nation was terribly interrupted in 1769. The Empress Catharine of Russia was then at war with the Turks, and the Greeks, ever watchful of an opportunity to recover their freedom, availed themselves of this war and rose in arms in Maina and throughout Peloponnesus. The Empress promised to send armies and fleets for their support, but only a few ships appeared, under the command of Orloff. The Turks called in the assistance of large numbers of wild Albanese, who everywhere raged with fire and sword. But in spite of the heroism of the Greeks and especially of the Mainots (the ancient Lakedæmonians), and of Andrutsos, a famous chief of the Klephts, the Turks suppressed the insurrection and desolated Peloponnesus by their ravages. The Russians abandoned their Greek allies and sailed to Asia Minor, where in 1770, under the brave

Scotch Admiral Elphinstone they burned the Turkish fleet near Tzesme. The Turks wreaked their vengeance on all parts of Greece, and murders were the order of the day. The Patriarch Meletios and many priests and primates at Constantinople were put to death with cruel tortures. The towns of Philippopolis, Larissa, Trikala, Smyrna, and others, were deluged in blood.

When in 1787, the war between Russia and Turkey broke out afresh, the Greeks again rose in arms, especially in the mountainous districts. The Greeks now for the first time formed a small navy under Lambros Katsonis, a native of Lavidia, who often attacked and captured Turkish vessels. At the same time the heroic people of the Suliots, in the north of Epiros, appeared for the first time on the scene of war, and the valour they displayed against Ali, pasha of Epiros, gained universal admiration. They maintained themselves, shut in as they were within their mountains, without provisions and without ammunition, and weakened by diseases and deaths, until the end with a valour unparalleled in history. Women and boys fought for their liberty as well as men. When the faithless Ali demanded the surrender of a mountain, threatening to kill the son of Tsavelas, chief of the Suliots, the father replied, "Faithless Ali, you may kill my son; if it pleases God, my wife will give me other sons; but another country I cannot have." When the Suliots were at length reduced to a hopeless condition, Ali promised them treasures and other homes, but they answered, "We despise thee and thy promises; the smoke of the huts in our mountains is dearer to us than all thy treasures." At last in 1803, decimated by hardships, without ammunition, and even without water, they resolved to quit their mountains. Being attacked on their road by Ali, most of them were slain; the survivors destroyed themselves, and mothers with their infants in their arms threw themselves down the precipices; only a few reached the port town of Parga, which was then under English protection. But Ali, grudging them even this asylum, bought Parga from the English; and the Suliots collecting from the graves

the very bones of their ancestors, proceeded to the Ionian Islands, where they finally settled.

The French revolution gave to the Greeks a fresh impulse: schools were established everywhere, and the most learned endeavoured to inspire them with a love of culture, virtue, and freedom. The most celebrated among them was Adamantios Koraes, who was the first to purify the Greek language and reduce it to fixed rules; he familiarised the Greeks with their ancient literature and endeavoured to kindle in them the desire to imitate the virtues of their great forefathers. Residing in Paris, he defended the much calumniated and despised Greek nation, he promoted a better acquaintance with it, and prophesied its restoration. Commerce and industry continued to flourish, and wealthy merchants freely gave their money to found schools, publish books, and provide for the wants of their country. At the same time the three little islands of Hydra, Psara, and Spetsa began to form the famous navy which afterwards in the war of liberation became the terror of the Turks and the hope of the Greeks. At first they only carried on commerce between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but in order to protect themselves against the pirates of Tunis and Barbary they changed their merchant vessels into ships of war. By this means they acquired great knowledge of maritime warfare, and amassed large treasures, especially during the Continental system of Napoleon.

All these national powers—the Church, scholars, Klephts, primates, sailors, and merchants—laboured thoughtfully and firmly to recover the freedom of their country. The man who first endeavoured to realise the idea of delivering the whole Greek nation from the yoke of the Turks, and to unite its several parts, which until then had struggled individually, was the Thessalian *Rigas Pheræos*. By his fiery war-songs he inspired the Greeks with a burning love for their country and for freedom; and in order to show them the whole extent of the lands inhabited by their fathers, he published an atlas

of all the Greek countries; and with the intention of bringing before them the achievements and virtues of their ancestors, he translated from the French the "Travels of Young Anacharsis;" and he even drew up a code of laws which were to be established among the Greeks and by which they and all the Christians of the East were to be governed after their liberation. He gave the first impulse to the subsequent formation of a "Society of Friends" (*hetairia*) which was to unite all those who were inspired with a love of freedom, and all those who by their position, their talent, and fortune, were able and willing to exert themselves for the common object. This society spread throughout the country, and nearly all Greeks became members of it. In 1797 Rigas went to Italy to come to an understanding with Bonaparte about his great plan; but at Trieste he was arrested by the Austrians and delivered up to the Turks, who ordered him to be beheaded at Belgrade. Before his death, he said, "The Greeks will soon avenge my death."

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF THE GREEK NATION, FROM 1821 TO 1862.

RIGAS' generous exertions and his martyrdom, the daily increasing enthusiasm for the freedom of Greece, which was stimulated by the schools and by the Church, the heroic deeds of the Klephts and Suliots, combined with the contempt of the cowardice of the Turks, and the hatred of their brutality, cruelty, and fanaticism, at last led to the great revolution which broke out in the year 1821. The whole Greek nation, old and young, and women as well as men, rose, as the war-song said, "for the holy faith in Christ and the freedom of their country."

The revolution broke out simultaneously in the far north, on the Danube, and in the mountains of Arkadia and Lakonia. In Wallachia, where, under the protection of the Greek princes, the Hetairia had been long and successfully active, and had organised the numerous Greeks residing in the country, the noble and brave *Alexander Ypsilantis*, the son of a former prince of Wallachia, proclaimed the insurrection of the Greek people. Young men from all parts of Greece assembled in the College of Bucharest, and, fired by the words and example of *Georgios Gennadios*, took up arms and formed themselves into a "sacred band," as the ancient Thebans had done under Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The Olympian *Georgios* (or *Georgakis*) assembled a number of brave warriors from Thessaly and Epiros. But the cowardice and treachery of the Wallachians, and *Ypsilantis*' want of military experience, enabled the Turks soon to stamp out the insurrection. All the noble and well-educated young men of the sacred band fell at Dragatzani. The brave *Georgios*, after several desperate contests, shut himself up with his followers in the monastery of Sekkon, and blew up the building together with himself and the invading Turks. The vengeance of the Turks was fearful. All the towns of Moldavia and Wallachia that were inhabited by Greeks were deluged in blood, and at Constantinople the fury of the Turks was frantic. Sultan Machmud II. resolved to exterminate the whole Greek nation, when he discovered a conspiracy of the Greeks at Constantinople, which had formed the plan to burn the harbour, kill the sultan, and take possession of the city. The massacre began with the patriarch *Gregorios*, who on Easter Sunday was hanged on the gate of his palace, and whose body was then dragged through the streets and thrown into the sea. All the patriarchs and bishops, and all the primates, with thousands of other citizens, were murdered, and their properties confiscated, while thousands of others were sent as slaves into Asia: it was, in fact, a renewal of the terrible scenes enacted at the taking of Constantinople. Adrianople, Thessalonike,

Smyrna, Kyprus, and other places, had to witness equal horrors.

In Greece proper, however, the insurrection was more successful. The most influential Peloponnesians, on the 6th of April 1821, assembled in the monastery of Sancta Laura, in Arkadia, and took a solemn oath that they would die for their country. There was *Petros Mauro-michalis*, the aged chief of Maina, who was joined by his brothers, children, and grandchildren, all equally renowned for their valour and patriotism ; there was the most famous warrior of Peloponnesus, *Theodoros Kolokotronis*, the Odysseus of modern Greece, inexhaustible in stratagems, and undaunted in danger, a man who, by his brilliant, popular, and humorous eloquence, inspired the Peloponnesians no less than by his heroic valour ; there also were the wise primates, *Zaimis*, *Lontos*, and *Delijiannis*, and the Archbishop *Germanos*, who consecrated the blue banner. Two numerous Turkish armies, consisting for the most part of Albanese, entered Peloponnesus against the insurgents. One of them, consisting of 6000 men, attacked and surrounded a body of 1000 Greeks, commanded by Kiriakulis and Johannes Mauromichalis. For two days and two nights the Greeks defended themselves manfully, when Kolokotronis arrived with his Arkadians, and at Valtetsi completely defeated the Turks, whose survivors took refuge at Tripolis. At the same time, a body of 4000 Turks burst into the eastern parts of Greece to crush the insurrection there. Seven hundred Greeks occupied Thermopylæ to stop their progress. They were commanded by the Bishop of Amphissa, and by young *Diakos*, formerly a priest, who was the most popular among the leaders on account of his beauty no less than on account of his bravery and poetical character. After a most valiant resistance, the bishop was killed, and *Diakos*, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Turks and cruelly murdered (5th of May). It was a bright sunny day, and when *Diakos* was taken to the place of execution, he exclaimed, "Lo, what a beautiful day Charon has chosen to fetch me, when the flowers

are blooming, and the earth has put on her green garment."

The Turks ravaged Phokis, Bœotia, and Attika, but in their rear *Odysseus*, a chief famous for his energy and bravery, again rallied the scattered Greeks. Five thousand Turks advanced against him. *Odysseus*, joined by *Guras*, occupied *Thermopylæ* with 1000 men, and completely overpowered the enemy in a bloody engagement.

At last, on the 5th and 6th of September, when the whole of continental Greece rose in arms, a large fleet proceeded from Constantinople against the islands. The Greek fleet, consisting of ships chiefly furnished by *Hydra*, *Spetsa*, and *Psara*, sailed out to meet the enemy. *Hydra* was governed by a patriotic aristocracy; the character of its inhabitants resembled that of the ancient Spartans, whom they equalled in their pride, simplicity, and indomitable bravery. Having acquired great wealth by their commerce, their honesty, and skill, they now sacrificed all their treasures, all their ships, and in the end even their lives, upon the altar of their country. During the whole of the war of liberation, the leader of the *Hydriots* was *Lazaros Kunturiotis*, who distinguished himself by his good sense, his virtue, and determination, and devoted his whole fortune to his country. The Greek fleet met the far more numerous one of the Turks in the neighbourhood of the island of *Lesbos*, and on the 8th of June burned a Turkish frigate with 600 men on board, whereupon the Turkish fleet, in great terror, fled back to Constantinople.

After these victories, the Greeks undertook to settle their future government. A national assembly meeting at *Epidauros* drew up a constitution, declaring before God and man that the Greek people, after having endured a fearful martyrdom, had determined by every sacrifice to secure its independence, and to take its place among the Christian and civilised nations which were indebted to their forefathers for civilisation and Christianity.

The next year Turkey made the greatest exertions to crush the insurrection. Forty thousand men, selected

from all parts of the empire, and commanded by Dram Ali, penetrated into Peloponnesus to relieve the fortress of Nauplia, which was besieged by the Greeks. The position of the latter was dangerous. Mauromichalis and *Demetrios Ypsilantis* (the brave and excellent brother of Alexander) occupied the akropolis of Argos and the Mylæ (Mills), in order to give Kolokotronis time to assemble his Peloponnesians. The latter soon arrived with 10,000 men. The Turks, not venturing to penetrate farther into Peloponnesus, soon discovered that from want of provisions and of water, they could not remain any longer in the plain of Argos, and therefore resolved to retreat towards Korinth. But Niketas and Ypsilantis, having occupied the mountain passes, fell upon the Turks and annihilated nearly the whole of their army; the remainder escaped to Korinth. That glorious victory, which reminds us of that of Plataæ, was due to the military skill of Kolokotronis, and to the valour of Niketas, who from that time bore the surname of "the devourer of the Turks" (*Tourkophagos*), but who, withal, was a man of child-like gentleness.

At the time when the army had set out from Constantinople, the united fleets of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary sailed from Constantinople against the Greek islands, and in the month of April they arrived at the beautiful, rich, but unwarlike island of Chios. The Turks threw themselves upon the unhappy islanders like wolves upon a flock of sheep. For many days the island was the scene of an indiscriminate massacre, of violence, and burning. Thousands of men and women were sent to the markets of Egypt and Asia to be sold as slaves. When the news of these terrible proceedings became known, the Hydriots, together with the Spetsiots and Psariots, got their fleets ready with the greatest haste. The admiral in command was the Hydriot, *Andreas Miaulis*, the greatest naval commander of Greece, an iron man who never smiled and never wept, whose superiority was acknowledged by all, and who, after his victories, retired as a simple citizen into the bosom of his family. By his experience and

boldness he kept in check the gigantic fleet of Turkey. On the night of the 6th of June, a young Psariot hero, *Konstantinos Kanaris*, sailed out in a small barge with thirty-three men, and setting fire to a large Turkish frigate, blew it up, with all on board. More than 2000 Turks with their admiral thus perished in the waters of the island of Chios, which they had saturated with the blood of innocent men and women. The terror of the Turks was so great that they fled before the small Greek fleet, and although reinforced by a fresh Egyptian armament to relieve Nauplia, they sailed past that fortress from fear of the Greek fleet. Nauplia, thus abandoned, fell into the hands of the Greeks (12th December). The Turkish fleet, on its arrival at Tenedos, was overtaken by a violent storm, and having lost, through a device of the Greeks, one frigate, with 1600 men, the whole armada hastened back to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Suliots, who, after the loss of their country, had settled in the Ionian islands, had returned to their mountains as early as the year 1820, and now renewed their hostility against the Turks, whose attacks on their mountain fastnesses they always successfully repelled. In the year 1822, *Alexander Maurokordatos* was governor-general of the southern part of continental Greece. He was as distinguished for his statesmanship as for enlightened patriotism; and perceiving the importance of Messolonghi, he established himself there, and gave to Akarnania and Ætolia a military organisation. Maurokordatos, with about 2500 men, proceeded northward to support the Suliots, but in Epiros the Greeks were surrounded by a body of Turks four times more numerous than themselves, and after an obstinate fight and great losses, were compelled to retreat. Many Philhellenes, and among them the German general, Normann, fell. Kyriakulis Mauromichalis, who, with a body of men from Maina and Arkadia, had advanced into Epiros, likewise lost his life after a brave but unsuccessful fight. Thus all the Turkish forces were directed against the Suliots, who, after a brave resistance, finding themselves

without ammunition and provisions, were compelled again to leave their mountains, and to seek a new home in Kephalaria, whence soon afterwards they proceeded to Messolonghi. All the Turkish forces were now directed against that place. But Maurokordatos and its inhabitants were resolved to die or to conquer, for they well knew that the place was the greatest stronghold of Peloponnesus. There were scarcely 350 men in the town, and their only means of defence consisted of fourteen old pieces of artillery; the walls were weak and old, and the Turkish fleet was blockading the place. Maurokordatos, in order to gain time, deceived the Turks by feigned negotiations, until Hydriot ships arrived and forced the Turks to give up the blockade; at the same time help came from Akarnania, Ætolia, and other parts. When the Turks, on the 6th of January 1823, attempted to storm the place, they were gloriously beaten back, and in their flight sustained great losses, as they were pursued by the Greeks.

In the year 1823, the sultan sent a formidable army of Albanese, with orders to take Messolonghi, the key to Peloponnesus. The little town, in spite of the heroism of its inhabitants, would scarcely have been able to defend itself, had it not been for the presence of *Markos Bozzaris*, the most glorious hero of the Greek Revolution, and the descendant of an ancient Suliote family. At the head of 1200 Suliots, who had come from Kephalaria, he formed the bold resolution to attack the advancing barbarians. Accompanied by 350 men, forming the centre of his little army, he assailed the Turkish camp during the night, and drove the terrified enemies from their fortified position. Bozzaris, though severely wounded, continued to fight until a bullet struck him in the forehead. The struggle, however, continued. When the morning dawned, the Suliots, overwhelmed with grief at the death of their beloved leader, left the field of battle, carrying with them the body of the hero. The victory was dearly bought; and the death of Bozzaris spread sorrow and consternation

throughout Greece. Six months later, on the 19th of April 1824, another piece of sad news filled all Greece with pain and sorrow, for the illustrious poet, *Lord Byron*, who, like many other enthusiasts for the emancipation of Greece, had gone to assist that country in its struggles for freedom. He had formed, at his own expense, a corps of Suliots, with whom he was resolved to fight for the liberation of Greece, when death overtook him. This calamity filled the minds of all the Greeks with even greater sorrow than any of the many misfortunes that had previously befallen them.

Meanwhile a body of 15,000 Turks appeared before Messolonghi, and attacked the island of Anatolikon, but the valour of the besieged, their sallies, the approach of winter, and the terror with which the fame of Bozzaris had filled them, obliged the Turks to retreat.

After so many and fruitless efforts to put down the Greek rebellion, the sultan applied for assistance to *Mehemet*, the pasha of Egypt. The latter, who had raised himself from the position of a common soldier to the governorship of Egypt, was a man of great ability, and had formed large land and naval forces, officered chiefly by Europeans, who had been attracted by his treasures, and had trained his armies. In order to insure his co-operation in the subjugation of Greece, the sultan gave him the island of Krete, which from the beginning of the revolution had supported the cause of freedom, until about the end of the year 1823 it was reduced to submission by *Mehemet*, whose son *Ibrahim* was now appointed governor-general of Peloponnesus, with orders to reconquer the peninsula for Turkey. A large Egyptian fleet (July 1824) then attacked the little island of Kasos, whose brave inhabitants had boldly and vigorously supported the Kretans; and after a brief but desperate resistance the Kasians were partly massacred and partly sent as slaves into Egypt. Meanwhile a Turkish fleet of 200 sail appeared before the little island of Psara, the boldness of whose inhabitants had specially roused the anger of the sultan. The Psariots had fortified their

island, and had received a thousand auxiliaries from Macedonia. Relying too much upon these advantages, instead of preventing the Turks from effecting a landing, they resolved to fight the enemy on land, and though they displayed their usual heroism, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers. Some of them, together with 600 Macedonians, fortified themselves in the monastery of St Nikolaos. After a desperate fight of two days, scarcely one-third of their number survived, and even these were nearly all wounded. Then they formed one of those bold resolutions which we so often hear of in this war. They ceased firing, and allowed the Turks to enter the monastery; and when the building was filled with enemies, the whole structure was blown up, amid hurrahs for freedom and fatherland. All the Greeks perished, but with them 4000 Turks. The rage of the enemy was fearful: thousands of men were captured, and sent to the slave markets, and many mothers with their children threw themselves into the sea, in order not to fall into the hands of the Turks. A few thousands of the survivors sought and found refuge in caves and mountains. The Greek fleet had not been able to prevent these unfortunate occurrences, because the inhabitants of Hydra and Spezza, who had generously equipped the ships out of their own means, had come to the end of their resources. But the misfortune of Psara roused them to fresh efforts: they got ready a fleet under *Georgios Sachturis*, next to *Miaulis*, the greatest admiral. The Turkish fleet was then making preparations for attacking the island of Samos. Another fleet was for the same purpose stationed near the Asiatic coast. The Greek fleet, reinforced by the surviving Psariots and Kanaris, sailed against them; and near Mount Mykale the Greeks fought three naval battles, in which, though inferior in numbers, they repeatedly defeated the Turks. Several of the enemy's ships were burned, with their crews. The large Turkish army encamped upon the Asiatic coast, terrified by these repeated defeats, withdrew to Halikarnassos, intending to join the great Egyptian fleet. *Miaulis*, united with

Sachturis, sailed against them, and with his small fleet was determined to keep in check the enormous forces of the enemy. Three times he defeated them, burned several of their ships, compelled them to retreat to Mitylene, and continued to harass them till nearly the end of the year, when the Turkish fleet fled to the Hellespont and the coast of Asia Minor. The aged hero Miaulis, crowned with glory, and as modest as ever, withdrew in silence to his home. The military operations of the Turks in continental Greece were equally unsuccessful during this year.

In the next year (1825), however, Ibrahim Pasha at length succeeded in throwing himself into Peloponnesus at the head of an excellent and numerous army, which was commanded by European officers. He laid siege to Pylos, and in order to facilitate his operations, attacked the little island of Sphakteria. Fifty-two Egyptian ships forced their entrance into the harbour, which was occupied by only eight Greek ships, commanded by the brave Hydriot Tsamados. On the 8th of May the Egyptians threw a numerous body of their forces into the island, while their ships of the line were ready to defend themselves against Miaulis, who was prevented by contrary winds from attacking them. Nearly all the men who formed the Greek garrison of the island were killed. Sachturis and Maurokordatos made their escape, and seven of the eight Greek ships supported by favourable wind, forced their way through the enemy's fleet. The other ship, "*Athena*," remained to save its captain, Tsamados; but when the men learned that he was dead, they, led on by Sachturis, determined to force their way through the whole of the Egyptian fleet stationed at the entrance of the harbour. The brave crew was determined either to save themselves or to blow up the ship; but by skilful and quick manœuvres the "*Athena*," after a fight of six hours, succeeded in breaking through the opposing lines. A few days later, Miaulis avenged the fall of Sphakteria, by burning twenty Egyptian ships in the port of Methone.

Meanwhile the Turkish fleet returned from the Hellespont, to attack Messolonghi. Sachturis sailed out, and met it between the islands of Eubœa and Andros, and completely defeated it, taking all their transports. The Turkish fleet then dispersed. But in Peloponnesus Ibrahim was successful with his numerous army: he took Pylos, and ravaged Messenia with fire and sword; and while this was going on, the Messenian, *Dikaios*, resolved to revive the courage of the Peloponnesians. He selected 600 men, who were ready to die, and gave notice to the government at Nauplia of his resolution, telling his countrymen that they could save their country only by their readiness at any time to sacrifice their lives for it. He fortified himself with his small band at Maniaki, in Arkadia, and there awaited the arrival of the whole Egyptian army. After a heroic fight, which lasted a whole day, he and all his companions fell, as the 300 Spartans and Leonidas had fallen at Thermopylæ. Ibrahim continued the conquest of the country, amidst slaughter and devastation, and sent his prisoners into Egypt. Suddenly he advanced into the plain of Argos, intending to take possession of the Mills near Lerna, which contained all the provisions of the Greeks. But at this moment Ypsilantis, with 227 brave followers, fortified himself there, resolved at all hazards to maintain that important place. His daring audacity was successful; the Egyptians were repelled with great loss, and Ibrahim returned to Tripolis. The aged Kolokotronis, the only man capable of protecting Peloponnesus against the enemy, assembled 10,000 men, the largest force that had until then been collected, and marched towards Tripolis to attack Ibrahim. The two armies met in July, near Trikorpha. The fiery but inconsiderate impetuosity of a Greek corps, which, contrary to the orders of the commander, pursued the Egyptians too far, threw the Greek ranks into disorder, spreading gradually throughout the Greek army, which, in spite of the efforts of its leader, was completely defeated: 400 fell, 800 were taken prisoners, and afterwards either slaughtered or sold as

slaves. Ibrahim now again ravaged Messenia, Lakonia, and Arkadia, and sent all his prisoners as slaves into Egypt. Kolokotronis again rallied the remains of his army, but did not venture upon a decisive battle. He followed Ibrahim, repeatedly attacked him, and then retreated into the mountains.

The success of Ibrahim in Peloponnesus induced the sultan to venture upon a final attack on Messolonghi. This task was entrusted to *Reshid Mechmet Pasha*, the greatest general of the Turks, who, with an army of 20,000 men, undertook the siege of the fortress. After the last siege which that small fortress had sustained, the fortifications had been somewhat improved; but its whole artillery consisted of forty iron guns, which were for the most part useless. Its best defence was its garrison, consisting of 5000 men, among whom were the bravest chiefs of Suli, Epiros, Thessaly, and Akarnania. All were under the supreme command of *Notis Bozzaris*, the uncle of Markos, who was then seventy years old. The besiegers were soon reinforced by a large Turkish fleet. The first two attacks of the Turks were gloriously repelled, and the Turkish fleet was put to flight by Miaulis and Sachturis. The city had already begun to suffer from famine, but provisions could now be introduced, and a few days later a body of 1000 men, sword in hand, sallied forth in the night, attacked the Turks, and after causing a fearful massacre among them, returned to the fortress with booty, standards, and prisoners.

During five months the Turks made incredible efforts to take Messolonghi by assault, and the Greeks made equal efforts to prevent it. Although suffering from famine and disease, they made the proud Reshid almost despair by their bold and well-managed sallies. At the beginning of the following year he was joined by Ibrahim, with 10,000 well-disciplined troops and a formidable body of artillery. Relying upon his superior force, Ibrahim called upon the parties to surrender (January 1826). The Messolonghites, though their position was hopeless, treated the demand with contempt. The whole country

round about was covered by the Turkish and Egyptian armies, and the sea was crowded by the enemy's fleet. Within the city famine and disease had already carried off 1500 of its defenders, and half of the fortress itself was already in ruins. At this critical moment, Miaulis arrived with his fleet, and on two successive days defeated the Turks. The blockade of Messolonghi was thus broken, and provisions for two months were introduced, whereupon Miaulis returned to Hydra to take further measures. Ibrahim and Reshid, after long preparations, now attempted to storm the place. After firing for two whole days, they gained, on the third, the possession of one fort, which, however, was retaken by the Greeks on the fourth. The two pashas endeavoured to continue the assault, but their troops were demoralised, and had literally to be forced to fight. The Turks, now despairing of the possibility of taking the town by assault, resolved to continue the bombardment. They took possession of three small islands in front of Messolonghi. A fourth, called Kleisova, was attacked by Reshid. Its garrison, which had fortified itself in a monastery, was commanded by *Kitsos Tsavelas* and 130 Suliots. Reshid, after a hot contest, was wounded and repelled. Ibrahim had no idea of the bravery displayed by the Greeks, and when Reshid was blamed for his defeat, he said to Ibrahim, "They are not men, they are devils; go and see yourself." But Ibrahim himself was soon obliged to retreat. Tsavelas then fell upon the Egyptians, and made such havoc among them that upwards of 1000 Turkish and Egyptian corpses for a long time floated in the shallow waters, and poisoned the atmosphere.

Meanwhile famine and diseases decimated the Messolonghites. Rations could no longer be given, and the destruction of houses within the town continued. Miaulis and his fleet were the only hope. The patriotic Hydriots, who for five years, with unexampled generosity, had maintained a fleet, had become impoverished, and the government at Nauplia had no money. Still a fresh fleet was formed, under the old admiral, though the ships were

very feebly manned, some of them having scarcely twenty men on board. Miaulis met the combined fleets of the enemy near Cape Araxos, and notwithstanding their immensely superior forces, he resolutely and boldly ventured upon a battle. The engagement remained without any decisive result, but the brave admiral incessantly harassed the enemy by small skirmishes, and endeavoured by every means, though in vain, to introduce provisions into Messolonghi. At last the desperate condition of the Messolonghites determined the iron admiral to risk everything, and to break through the blockading force, when the terrible news of the fall of Messolonghi broke his heart.

The sufferings of every kind had risen in the city to the highest point. For twenty days the chief articles of food had been seaweeds and the leather of their shoes, which, softened by a little oil, was regarded as a delicacy. Diseases raged, and no medical assistance was to be obtained. In the streets, covered with ruins, there were seen lying old and young, men and women, sick, famished, or dead. Notwithstanding all this, the people had to watch night and day to repel the enemy's attacks. Ibrahim, who knew the condition of the place, repeated his demand to surrender. But the heroic defenders contemptuously rejected every proposal. The leading men, however, saw that the defence must come to an end, as in three or four days the whole population would be carried off by famine. It was resolved, therefore, to make a sortie, and to save as much as possible. Out of 3000 men the bravest warriors were selected, who, on the night of the 22d of April, were to force a passage, sword in hand, through the whole hostile army. This daring plan might have succeeded had it not been betrayed by a Bulgarian to Ibrahim, who immediately took measures to prevent the escape of that daring band. When the moment arrived, the Greeks best able to fight took the lead, being followed by all the young men in arms. All the women were armed, and disguised as men, carrying a sword in their right hand, and their

infants in their left, or fastened to their backs. They were followed by the old men and women, and children, under the protection of a body of soldiers forming the rear. A number of others, unable to follow them, either from age or disease, or unwilling to leave their beloved homes and the tombs of their ancestors, remained behind. They all assembled near a powder magazine, and calmly awaited the end. Those who were to sally forth were waiting for the signal which was to be given to them by other Greeks, expected to come to their rescue. Ibrahim, who knew everything, directed his fire against them. For hours the valiant body of Greeks remained immovable, tormented as much by the painful expectation of succour as by the bullets of the enemy. No signal came from without. When at last the moon rose, and enabled the Greeks to survey the masses of Turks and Egyptians ready to receive them, a thundering voice cried out, "Forward! forward! death to the barbarians!" With superhuman courage the vanguard of the Greeks rushed upon the fortifications of the enemy. Nothing was able to stop their progress, and a broad way was opened through the midst of the terrified Turks and Egyptians. But then some one called out with a terrible voice, "Back into the town!" and a great number were driven back by terror. The infuriated Turks and Arabs followed them, cutting down every one they met. Fearful scenes were now enacted, which lasted the whole night. In every street and in every house those who had remained behind now fought with the courage of despair, and many blew up themselves and the enemy by means of powder. When a numerous body of the enemy broke into the powder magazine, where most of the aged and wounded were assembled, the aged Kapsalis set fire to it, and all were blown up together. The next morning Messolonghi was a blackened heap of ruins, among which 300 Greeks were buried, together with many thousands of their enemies.

Those who had formed the vanguard in the sally forced their way through the enemy with indescribable difficul-

ties, being attacked on all sides. But their assailants had to pay dearly for it. When at last they arrived at Mount Zygos, they imagined they were in safety; but they were now attacked by a body of Albanese, and a terrible battle ensued. Many of the women, who had become unable to fight, begged their husbands to kill them, that they might not fall into the hands of the Turks. At last they were met by a body of 300 Greeks, who came to their assistance, and with their help they routed the Albanese, and thus at last gained some breathing time. The country through which they pursued their course had been completely devastated; no food was to be found, and danger on all sides. Many died of hunger, fatigue, and wounds. When at last they arrived at Amphissa, they found rest and kindly treatment from their countrymen; but the number of those who had thus escaped amounted to only 1800. Of the Messolonghites it may be truly said that every one of their warriors was a hero and a martyr.

The fall of Messolonghi filled all Greece with sorrow and despair. The government at Nauplia was helpless. Brave men from all parts of Greece, and especially the defenders of Messolonghi, assembled there. But they had neither money nor an army, and an epidemic was raging in the devastated country. All confidence had disappeared, and the distress was terrible and universal; while Ibrahim, who had returned from Messolonghi, and was devastating Peloponnesus, was daily expected before Nauplia. In the meantime, Reshid Pasha was marching against Athens, the only important city of continental Greece. But what was worse than all was the discord among the Greeks themselves, which for some time had already done much mischief, but had now reached at Nauplia its highest point. In these circumstances, Georgios Gennadios called together the men in the public square of Nauplia, described to them in heart-stirring words the condition of their country, telling them that the curse of their ancestors, as well as of their wives and children, and the contempt of the world, would be upor

them, if they did not make a last effort. He summoned the wives and children, who, bearing the cross in their hands, implored their husbands, on their knees, rather to kill them with their own hands than let them fall into the power of the barbarians. The men were fired with fresh enthusiasm, and took a solemn oath to conquer or to die for their country. Every one was ready to sacrifice all he had for the good of his countrymen. All the horses were voluntarily offered, and a cavalry was formed to defend Nauplia against the Egyptians. The aged *Kolokotronis* skilfully directed everywhere a guerilla warfare, not venturing upon any battle, but constantly attacking and harassing the Egyptians. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the mountains, or in caves, or in strong places, abandoning their country to the fury of the enemy, who was devastating it with fire and sword. The inhabitants of Maina, women as well as men, repelled a vigorous attack by Ibrahim, and inflicted severe losses upon him.

Georgios Karaiskakis, who in a short time had acquired the reputation of the greatest general of the revolution, was sent as commander-in-chief of continental Greece against Reshid Pasha. He had formed the great and bold plan of driving the Turks out of Europe altogether. Reshid had besieged and bombarded Athens, and in spite of the brave resistance of its inhabitants, had become master of the city, and was blockading the akropolis, which was defended by the brave *Guras*, with 570 men. Karaiskakis, who set out from Nauplia with 600 men, increased his army at Eleusis to 3500, among whom the surviving defenders of Messolonghi distinguished themselves. Twice he defeated detachments of Reshid's forces, and captured nearly all the cattle and beasts of burden of his army. He now organised the resistance of the akropolis, and formed a grand plan of operations, by which he hoped to surround Reshid in the plain of Athens. The latter, in order to gain possession of the akropolis, began a fearful cannonade in the night of the 18th of October, during which a portion of the Erechtheion was

destroyed; but he was repulsed with great loss. The garrison, which had been much weakened, was now reinforced by Karaiskakis, with 450 warriors, who, under the guidance of two of his bold adjutants, succeeded in the night in making their way into the akropolis. Reshid's operations were constantly frustrated by the besieged. But the small garrison also was daily diminished, and was beginning to feel the want of ammunition, when the brave French colonel, *Fabvier*, a distinguished Philhellene, introduced 650 Greek soldiers. This was effected in the night with great boldness and order. Even before this, Karaiskakis, after fortifying Eleusis and Salamis, had entered Bœotia, with a view of carrying out his great plan. He everywhere drove the Turks before him, and by quick and well-arranged movements he surrounded, near Arachova, a body of 1500 of the best Albanese troops, who were intended as a reinforcement for Reshid, and completely annihilated them. Rich booty fell into the hands of the Greeks on this occasion. Thence he hastened to Thermopylæ, and there captured all the stores of provisions which were on their way to Reshid. Immediately after this he hastened to Ætolia, Phokis, and Livadia, everywhere chasing the Turks before him, and everywhere occupying the most important places, and thus forming a semicircle in the rear of Reshid. He then returned, with 1000 men, to the coast of Salamis, in order to carry out his plan. Even before his arrival, the government had assembled 6000 men in Peiræus and Phaleron (February 1827); but this force, in the absence of Karaiskakis, had always been very unsuccessful against Reshid. The latter soon after attacked Karaiskakis, but was repulsed. The Greek army in Attika was soon increased to 10,000 men. In order to testify its respect and gratitude to England—which, under the guidance of *George Canning*, had shortly before taken a Philhellenic turn—the Greek government appointed the two English Philhellenes, *Cochrane* and *Church*, commanders—the former admiral of the fleet, and the latter commander-in-chief of the land forces. Both proceeded to Phaleron, whither

a Greek fleet also was sent, in which the aged Miaulis readily placed himself under the command of Cochrane. Cochrane wished at once to storm the Turkish entrenchments, and to make an attack upon the whole force of Reshid. His example carried away a great number of the Greek chiefs; but the calm and thoughtful Karaiskakis, who knew the character of his enemies better, and had for the last twelve months made every preparation to secure success, was determined to gain possession of a few more strong points, and not to leave anything to chance. His great plan, as already remarked, was to harass the enemy, to surround them, and thus gradually to destroy them. The Greeks continued to advance slowly from Phaleron, and Reshid began to see that he was being surrounded, and that soon he would have no means of obtaining provisions and ammunition; when all at once some Hydriots and Kretans, carried away by impatience, contrary to the orders of Karaiskakis, made an attack upon the Turkish fortifications on the river Ilissos. They carried with them a portion of the right wing, but Reshid surrounded them in the plain with his cavalry, where some of them were cut to pieces, while the remainder escaped with difficulty. Karaiskakis, who was ill in his tent, rose up and flew into the melee, to save the fugitives and prevent a general engagement. But he was mortally wounded, and, feeling the approach of death, recommended his adjutants to carry out his own plan as the only means of saving Greece. Cochrane, now freed from the control of Karaiskakis, at once ordered the whole of his right wing to advance against the enemy. The Greeks, led by a commander who did not know them, rushed on with great vehemence, but without order; while the centre and the left wing, having received no orders, remained immovable. When, therefore, they were surrounded in the plain by the numerous Turkish cavalry and artillery, they suffered a more terrible defeat than any that had yet been sustained. Fifteen hundred dead covered the field of battle, and nearly all the Suliots had fallen with their chiefs. Drakos, a brave Suliot

chief, was wounded, and on being taken before Reshid, he broke his fetters, and plunged a dagger into his own heart. Cochrane and Church escaped to the fleet. The former sailed to Hydra, while the latter remained in Phaleron, with 2000 men, who, however, being hard pressed by the Turks, were at last obliged to depart. Nine days later the akropolis also surrendered.

The brilliant expectations which the Greeks had entertained of the operations of Karaïskakis, and the anticipated annihilation of Reshid, were at once dispersed by the news of the death of Karaïskakis, and by the destruction of the finest army. Greece was in despair, and its situation terrible. The whole of continental Greece was now in the hands of the Turks. Ibrahim, who had received large reinforcements from Egypt, again began to ravage Peloponnesus in the most fearful manner, having been appointed by the sultan governor of the peninsula. His object was to extirpate the whole of the Greek population, and to people the country with Egyptians and Arabs. Thousands of captured men and women were sent as slaves into Egypt.

Such was the state of Greece, when, fortunately, a great change took place in the views of the great European powers in regard to it. During the first years of the revolution their governments had looked upon the Greeks as perjured rebels against their legitimate sovereign; and the Austrian government, in particular, openly sided with the Turks. But after 1825 the heroism and martyrdom of the Greeks, and especially the fall of Mesolonghi, and the horrors accompanying it, called forth a cry of indignation all over Europe. The most eminent poets, orators, philosophers, and divines, especially in France, stirred up public opinion. Many enthusiastic men, from all parts of Christian Europe, went to Greece, to share its sufferings or assist in its liberation. They are generally known by the name of *Philhellenes*—that is, friends of Greece. In England many of the leading men stigmatised the policy of the government as unworthy of their country. In the year 1825 George Canning charac-

terised it as a monstrosity and a disgrace. He at once recognised the Greeks as belligerents, and endeavoured, though in vain, through the mediation of Sir Stratford Canning in Constantinople, to induce the Turks to grant a truce. Russia and France, however, were made to sign at London, on the 6th of July 1827, a protocol, in which it was agreed that, if the Turkish government, within a month, did not consent to a truce, the three great powers would officially recognise the independence of Greece, and compel Turkey to observe the truce. In addition to this, the three governments sent their fleets to Peloponnesus, with the special object to stop the inhuman proceedings of Ibrahim. The three fleets, commanded by Admiral *Edward Codrington*, entered the harbour of *Pylos* (*Navarino*), where the whole Egyptian and Turkish fleet was lying at anchor. When the Egyptians fired at the English ships, Codrington gave the signal for that memorable and glorious battle, in which the allied fleet destroyed nearly the whole armada of the Turks and Egyptians, and killed 6000 men. That battle saved the honour of the Christian and civilised nations, who by their indifference had so long been the accomplices of the Turks. As the latter, even after that battle, refused to grant an armistice, the Greeks at once continued the war. Church, the commander-in-chief, in November sailed to Akarnania, whither Kostas Bozzaris likewise proceeded, hoping to retake Messolonghi, which was blockaded on the sea side by the English Philhellene, *Hastings*, who took the small island of Vasiladion. This brave and modest sailor, who had devoted his life and property to the service of Greece, after many and successful skirmishes was killed before Messolonghi in June 1828.

Meanwhile, about the middle of January 1828, *Joannes Kapodistrias*, whom the Greek National Assembly at Trœzen had appointed governor of Greece, proceeded to the island of *Ægina*, for the purpose of centralising and organising the government. Kapodistrias, a native of Kerkyra (Korfu), who had lived much in Russia and Switzerland, was patriotic, honest, industrious, and prac-

tial, and at once introduced economy and order in political and military affairs. Church, and especially Ypsilantis, in September 1829, completely defeated a Turkish army of 7000 men, whereby continental Greece was almost entirely freed from the Turks; and at the same time a French army of 14,000 men, under General *Maison*, sent by Charles X. to Peloponnesus, at length compelled Ibrahim Pasha, who had already slaughtered or sold one-fourth of the population, to embark and return to Alexandria (4th and 5th of October). The Turks were thus driven out of Greece.

Kapodistrias, who in the meantime continued to reorganise the country, entirely mistook the national character of the people, and, misled by the injudicious advice of his friends, allowed himself to be induced to adopt several illegal and despotic measures. This and foreign intrigues brought about his much lamented death, on the 9th of October 1831. Greece was of course still in a very unsettled state, and after many endeavours of the three powers to establish a monarchy and to select a king, the kingdom of Greece was at length recognised by the treaty of London, on the 7th of May 1832, and *Otho*, son of the enthusiastic Philhellene, Louis, king of Bavaria, was chosen king. This choice was approved by the National Assembly of the Greeks on the 8th of August, and Turkey was obliged to acquiesce in it.

Of all the Greek countries which for a period of eight years had done and suffered everything to gain their freedom, only the part south of the Gulfs of Pagasæ and Amprakia, down to Cape Tænaron, obtained its independence. Eubœa, with the surrounding islands, and the Kyklades, were likewise incorporated with free Greece; but Epiros and Suli, Thessaly and Macedonia, which had done and suffered so much, and Krete (Candia), were compelled by that treaty again to submit to the brutal tyranny and the revengeful spirit of the Turks.

Thus ended the Greek revolution, and history must acknowledge that during the war of liberation the Greeks

had displayed a heroism and a readiness to sacrifice everything, which has no parallel in history.

King Otho, who arrived in Greece on the 6th of February, was what is commonly called a good, mild, and industrious man ; but he was stupid, self-willed, and a fanatic Roman Catholic. He was moreover jealous of every kind of national independence, and dreaded every independent character, whom he looked upon as dangerous and offensive to his own majesty. He always allowed himself to be guided by the sinister influence of Austria. Although he had promised to comply with the wish of the nation, expressed by its National Assemblies, to give the country a constitution, he never fulfilled his promise ; and it was only after many fruitless attempts, that at last, on the 15th of December 1843, he was forced to grant a constitution. But although he took his oath to observe it, he continually violated it, and allowed himself to be guided by the intrigues of a petty and unworthy camarilla. Greece became the scene of continual internal disturbances and diplomatic intrigues. At length, after a national effort, which was stifled in blood, Otho was expelled, in a unanimous rising of the Greek nation, on the 22d of October 1862. He had poisoned the first growth and development of the people, more from incapacity than from evil intentions.

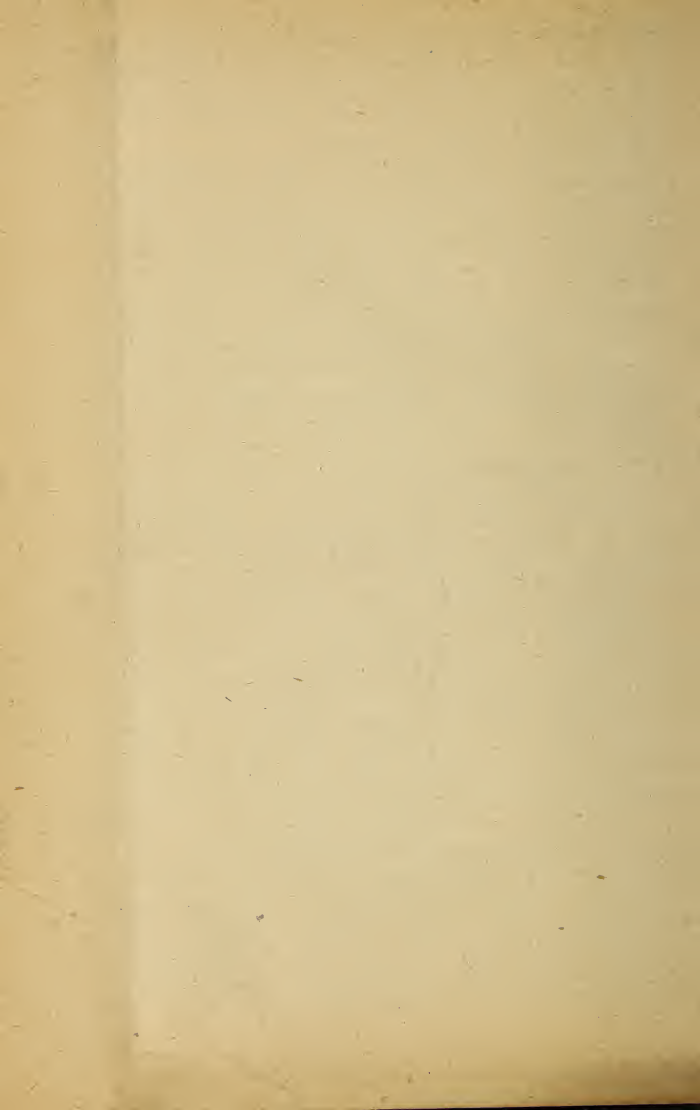
Although during his reign the love of freedom was stifled, it again burst forth in 1841 in an insurrection of the *Kretans* ; but this was stamped out by the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt. In 1854, *Epiros* and *Thessaly* rose in arms, but after the display of much bravery, they were again forced under the Turkish yoke, through the intercession of France and England, which took military possession of *Peiræus*.

After the expulsion of Otho, the Greeks, in order to testify their attachment to constitutional government and their confidence in England, unanimously selected Prince *Alfred* of England for their king ; but from want of faith in the stability of the country, he declined the honour. Prince *George of Denmark*, who was then proposed by England as king of the Greeks, was unanimously ac

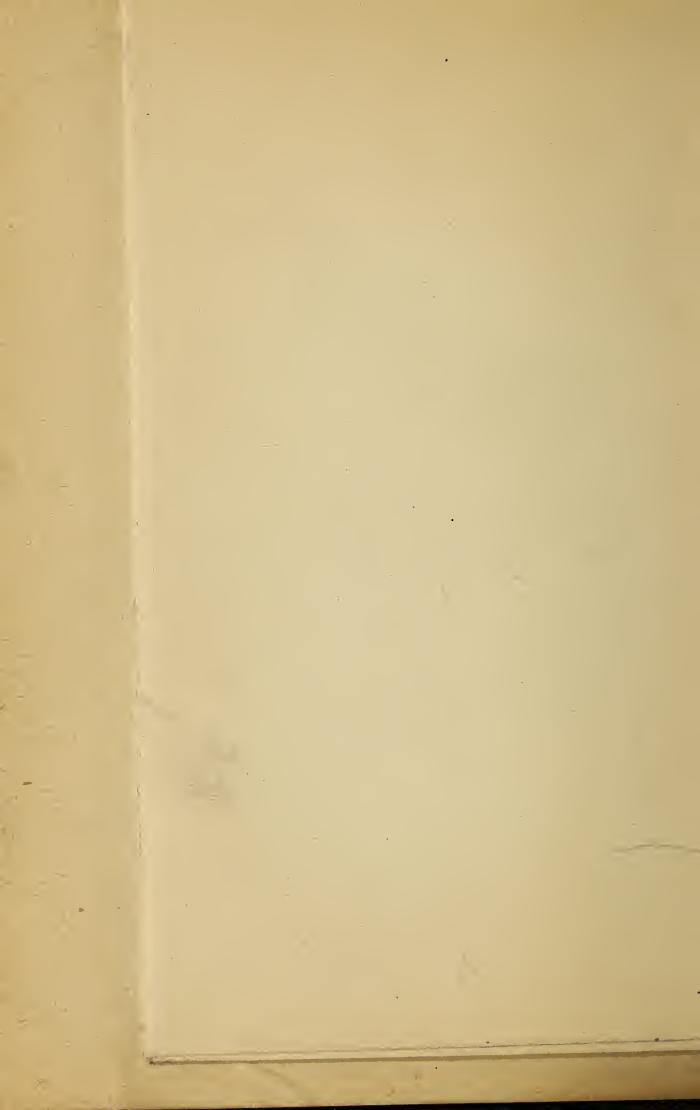
cepted by them, and arrived in Athens on the 30th of October 1862. At the same time, on the advice of Mr Gladstone, England spontaneously resigned its protectorate of the Ionian Islands, whereby their desire to be united with their mother country was realised.

During the reign of George, the *Kretans* again rose against the Turks, and for three years (from 1865 to 1868) they fought for their freedom, their religion, and their honour against the forces of Turkey and Egypt. At Vassé a body of the noblest youths of Greece fell, fighting bravely; and in the monastery of Arkadion 1400 women, children, and old men, with a few warriors, blew themselves up, that they might not be obliged to submit to the Austrian renegade, Omer Pasha. But the superior Turkish forces and the intervention of the European powers, especially of France, at length succeeded in putting down this revolution.

During the forty years that Greece has enjoyed its independence the government has shown itself as incapable as the exertions of individuals have been increasing and enlightened. When the Turks were expelled from Greece the country was completely exhausted through the long protracted struggle, and was covered with the ruins of towns and villages, and the population was more than decimated. But in our days hundreds of new towns and villages have risen from the ruins, the population has doubled, and the countries of Messenia, Achaia, Elis, and Korinth are cultivated like gardens. Even the state of continental Greece has become much improved, although the pashas of Epiros and Thessaly annually throw into Greece hosts of wild Turkish, Albanese, and Wallachian robbers through the narrow mountain passes. The Greek navy is flourishing, and displays its flag in both hemispheres. Public instruction is diffused from Athens, and given gratis to all young citizens of free Greece; liberal education and culture are promoted even among those Greeks who are still subject to Turkey, and the living Greek language proclaims to the world that at least a portion of ancient Hellas, after an enslavement of 2000 years, has again recovered its freedom.







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HISTORY OF ROME.

Authorized Text-Book Series.

A

HISTORY OF ROME

FOR

JUNIOR CLASSES.

BY

LEONARD SCHMITZ, LL.D

CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

WITH A MAP OF ITALY AND AMPLE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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TORONTO:

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1890

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PREFACE.

THIS little History of Rome has been drawn up for the purpose of giving the young student a brief but fair picture of the origin, growth, development, and decay of the Roman state. The early or mythical period, which has been passed over entirely by at least one modern historian, could not be altogether omitted in a book of this kind, partly because legendary tales are always specially attractive to the imagination of the young, partly because they show in what light the Romans themselves viewed their own early history, and lastly because, though the mystical or legendary character may be fully admitted, they nevertheless contain many traits revealing to us the social, religious, and political life of the early Romans, not to mention the fact that a knowledge of those legends is absolutely necessary to understand the numerous allusions to them which we meet with in the poetical productions of modern nations.

The later centuries of the Roman Empire, subsequent to the reign of Commodus, appeared unsuitable for very young people, for with few exceptions it is only a history of wretched and contemptible despots, containing little that can benefit or elevate young minds. Hence

that part of the history has been briefly characterised only in a few broad outlines, showing the rapid decline and final dissolution of the once mighty fabric of the Roman Empire. It is hoped that this little volume, like its companion, the "History of Greece for Junior Classes," may be found a suitable introduction to the study of the larger Histories of Rome which have been produced in this and other countries during the last fifty or sixty years.

L. S.

LONDON, *August* 1875.

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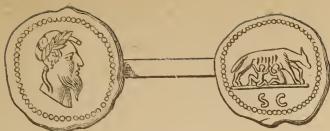
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A ROMAN COIN

HISTORY OF ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Rome differs from that of most other nations, inasmuch as it is the history of a single city, which, at first small and insignificant, gradually extended its dominion and imposed its laws not only upon Italy, but upon nearly the whole of the ancient world. The city of Rome throughout the whole period of Roman history was the heart and centre of the Empire; and a more gigantic system of power centred in a single city, the world has never seen. As she extended her conquests, she at first also extended her constitution, though in a modified form, to the conquered peoples who were admitted to her franchise; but this plan was soon given up, and the conquered nations were reduced one after another to the condition of subjects, having to bear all the burdens of the state, without enjoying the privileges of citizens. Such a system was fraught with very many dangers, and ultimately led to terrible wars by which the city was forced in the end to concede the rights of citizenship to the whole of Italy.

Rome was originally one of a number of small towns in Latium, a district on the west coast of Central Italy,

and its inhabitants of course were Latins. These Latins again were only one of the many tribes inhabiting the whole of Central Italy, all of them closely allied to the inhabitants of Greece, as is still manifest from the great resemblance subsisting between the language of the Greeks and the dialects of the nations of Central Italy, especially the Latin, which is the best known among them. This resemblance is in fact so great that it is clear there must have been a time when the Greeks and Italians were united as one nation speaking the same language. The Central Italians, therefore, as well as the Greeks, belong to the great Aryan family of nations, who immigrated into Europe from the East; and on their arrival one branch occupied the peninsula of Greece, while the other proceeded to Italy, which they appear to have entered from the north. In their new country they again separated into several branches which became afterwards known by the names of Umbrians, Sabellians, Latins, Oscans, etc., and whose languages differed from one another only as dialects.

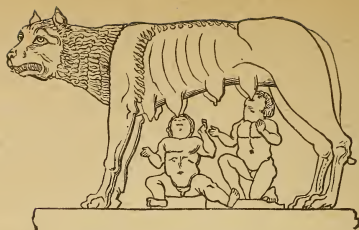
But besides these Central Italians, we meet in Italy with other nations, such as the Etruscans or Tuscans, at first occupying the plains of Lombardy, but afterwards settled in Tuscany or Etruria, which derives its name from them. They appear to have been pushed southwards and across the Apennines by swarms of Gauls descending from the Alps and conquering the country between those mountains and the Apennines. The south-east of Italy, moreover, was inhabited by a race called Iapyges, probably the earliest immigrants into the peninsula, who had been pushed to the southern extremity by subsequent immigrants. The most recent inquiries have shown that all these nations, including even the Etruscans, about whom so many wild conjectures have been formed, belonged to the Aryan race.

But in addition to these, the southern coasts of Italy were covered with Greek colonies, whence that part of the peninsula is sometimes called Great Greece (*Magna Græcia*). Hence, in spite of all appearances to the con

trary, the whole of Italy, including Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul, was inhabited by nations belonging to one and the same great race, whose original home appears to have been in the north-west of India. Their arrival in Europe which must have been very gradual, and have occupied a long period of time, may be assigned in a general way to the year 2000 before the Christian era.



PLAN OF THE CITY OF ROME.



THE CAPITOLINE SHE-WOLF.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF ROME TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

B.C. 753 TO B.C. 509.

IN treating of the earliest history of Rome, we must bear in mind that we are dealing with mere legends, as is the case with all other nations whose history pretends to go much further back than their written literature. In the case of Rome the legendary, or, as we may call it, the artificial character of its early history may be inferred all the more from the fact that in the year B.C. 390, when Rome was taken and destroyed by the Gauls, most of the ancient historical records perished, and had to be restored as far as possible from oral traditions and legends. This legendary part might therefore be passed over altogether, were it not that the legends were believed by the Romans themselves, and are so much interwoven with the subsequent literature not only of the Romans, but of nearly all the nations of Europe, that it becomes a necessity to have some general knowledge of them. Moreover, although the events themselves recorded in the legends may have no historical foundation, they yet enable us every now and then to catch a glimpse of the social, moral, and religious condition of the people, or at least of the light in

which the Romans themselves viewed their early history, which itself is a matter of no small interest. We shall therefore give a brief outline of the earliest or legendary history of Rome, adding, where necessary, a few remarks pointing out what must be regarded as fable, and what may be supposed to convey some historical truth.

The story about the foundation of Rome runs as follows: *Æneas*, one of the Trojan heroes, is said after the destruction of his native city by the Greeks, to have arrived in Italy with a number of followers, to have founded the town of Lavinium in Latium, and to have thus become the ancestor of a long line of kings. *Ascanius*, his son and successor, founded the city of *Alba Longa*, which henceforth became the seat of government, and is said to have been the head of a confederacy of thirty Latin towns. *Procas*, one of its last kings, at his death left two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. The former, being the elder, succeeded his father, but *Amulius* rebelled against his brother, drove him from the throne, and in order to secure his unjust possession of it, ordered the son of *Numitor* to be put to death, and then compelled the daughter, *Rhea Silvia*, to become a vestal virgin, whereby she was obliged to remain unmarried. But by the god *Mars* she became the mother of twin sons, *Romulus* and *Remus*. Thereupon *Amulius* caused her to be killed, and her infants to be thrown into the river *Tiber*. The river at the time happened to have overflowed its banks, so that after a short time, when the waters subsided, the basket containing the babes remained standing on dry land. There they were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by a woodpecker, until they were found by the shepherd, *Faustulus*, who took them to his wife, *Acca Laurentia*. When the boys had grown up to manhood, they distinguished themselves by their bravery and their noble bearing; by an accident they became acquainted with their own history, and with the assistance of their comrades drove *Amulius* from his usurped throne, which was now restored to their grandfather *Numitor*.

This being accomplished, they resolved to build a town on the Palatine hill near the spot where they had been saved. When the new town was finished, a dispute arose as to which of the two brothers should give it its name; from words it came to blows, and Romulus slew his brother. In order to increase the number of inhabitants, Romulus opened an asylum, inviting all and sundry to come and settle in the new place. Vagabonds of every description came, and all were welcome. But as there were no women among them, the population would soon have died out, and in order to prevent this, Romulus applied to the neighbouring communities of Latins and Sabines to obtain wives for his subjects. This request was scornfully rejected, and Romulus then resolved to obtain by a cunning device what had been refused to his fair demand. He invited the neighbouring tribes to a festival to be celebrated in honour of the god Neptune; and while the strangers were witnessing the games, the Romans suddenly seized their daughters and carried them by force to their homes. To avenge this outrage, the Latins and Sabines took up arms against Rome. The former were easily defeated, but during the heat of the fight with the Sabines, the Sabine women threw themselves between the combatants imploring them to desist from destroying one another and declared themselves willing to remain with their new husbands. A peace was then concluded, in which it was agreed that the Romans and Sabines should henceforth form only one state, but that each nation should retain its own king. The Sabines then under their king, *Titus Tatius*, built a new town for themselves on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, near that of the Romans. The two nations for a time lived in happy peace and concord; but not long after, *Titus Tatius* was killed during a sacrifice at Lanuvium, after which Romulus alone reigned over both Romans and Sabines.

Soon after this, Romulus became involved in wars against Fidenæ and the Etruscan town of Veii, in both of which he was successful, the Veientines being even

compelled to give up a portion of their territory on the right bank of the Tiber. After a reign of thirty-eight years, from B.C. 753 to B.C. 716, he was removed from the earth in as marvellous a manner as that in which he had come into it; for one day, while he was reviewing his troops, his father Mars descended in a tempest and bore him up into heaven. He was ever after worshipped as a god under the name of *Quirinus*, and regarded as the guardian and protector of the city he had founded.

Such is the legendary account of the life and reign of Romulus; but the Romans at all times looked upon him not only as the founder of their city, but also as the author of the groundwork of their political institutions. Hence he is said to have divided his people into three tribes, the *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, each tribe into ten *Curiae*, and each *Curia* into one hundred *gentes* or clans. The senate or council of elders, originally said to have consisted of one hundred members, was increased to two hundred, when the Sabines or *Tities* (from *Titus*) were incorporated with the state. The *Luceres*, however, were certainly not formed by Romulus, but were added at a later time when the senate was increased to three hundred members, which for a long time after remained its normal number.

Besides the sovereign people thus organised into tribes, *curiae*, and *gentes*, there existed in the earliest times two other classes, the clients and the slaves. The former were retainers of certain families or clans, and the person to whom a client was attached was called his patron (*patronus*, from *pater*, a father), which shows that the relation subsisting between a client and his patron resembled that between a father and his son. The plebeians, or the commons of Rome, did not exist in those early times, unless the clients be regarded as plebeians, as is done by some historians.

After the death of Romulus, a whole year passed away without a successor being elected, and in the meantime the government was conducted by the senate. At length the *Ramnes* or Romans chose from among the Sabines

Numa Pompilius of Cures, a man renowned for his piety and wisdom. The legend represents him as the founder of all the great religious institutions, just as Romulus is described as the author of the political organisation of the state. Numa's reign was a period of uninterrupted peace, during which the people were engaged in the peaceful pursuit of agriculture and in the worship of the gods. In all he did the king was supported by the counsels of the nymph *Egeria*, with whom he had interviews in a sacred grove near Aricia. The first thing he did was to build a Temple of Janus, which remained closed throughout his reign, a sign that Rome was at peace with all her neighbours. He then instituted the several orders of priests, as the *flamines*, priests devoted to the special service of the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, the *vestal virgins*, and the *salii* or dancing priests of Mars. He next appointed the college of *augurs* (*augures*), consisting of four members, whose business it was to ascertain the will and pleasure of the gods by observing the flight of birds in the air and their manner of feeding. The college of *pontiffs* (*pontifices*), lastly, consisting of four members, headed by a fifth called the *pontifex maximus*, possessed most extensive powers in all matters connected with religion. After having thus regulated religion and all its numerous rites and ceremonies, Numa Pompilius died after a reign of forty-three years, from B.C. 715 to 672.

The story of this king is quite as mythical as that of Romulus; the religious institutions ascribed to him had no doubt existed among the Latins and Sabines from time immemorial, as is clear even from the legends about his predecessor. The religion of the Romans, like that of the Greeks, was only an offshoot of the religion of the great Aryan race, and consisted originally in the worship of the various powers manifested in nature, such as the sun, the moon, the heavens, and the earth, with the various forces displayed in them. But in later times that simple worship of nature was corrupted by foreign influences, especially by the mythology of the Greeks, for the Romans

themselves had scarcely anything that can be called mythology.

After the death of Numa Pompilius the Romans chose *Tullus Hostilius*, who belonged to the Ramnes, for their king. His reign, extending from B.C. 672 to 640, is described as the very opposite of that of Numa, for he is said to have neglected the worship of the gods and to have been engaged in perpetual wars with his neighbours. The first of these wars was waged against Alba Longa, in consequence of certain acts of violence for which reparation was refused by that city. The contest between the two little states remained for a long time undecided, until at length the commanders arranged that the dispute should be determined by a combat of three Roman brothers called the *Horatii*, with three Alban brothers called the *Curiatii*, who happened to be serving in their respective armies; and it was agreed that the conquering party should rule over the vanquished. When the three champions of each party met, two of the *Horatii* were killed, while all the three *Curiatii* were indeed wounded but still able to fight. The surviving *Horatius* then took to flight, and the three *Curiatii* pursued him at such intervals as their wounds permitted. This was what *Horatius* had foreseen, and turning round, he slew them one after another. It was thus decided that Rome should rule over Alba. When the Romans returned home in triumph, *Horatius* met his sister, who burst into tears and lamentations, when she saw among the spoils won by her brother a garment she had woven with her own hands for one of the *Curiatii*, to whom she had been betrothed. *Horatius*, enraged at her conduct on such an occasion, ran her through with his sword. For this outrage he was tried and sentenced to death; but he availed himself of his right to appeal to the people, who, moved by the recollection of what he had done for his country, and by the entreaties of his father, who by his death would have been left childless, acquitted him. This tragic story is unquestionably no more than a popular tradition or a poetical fiction, but the fact of Alba having been overpowered by the Romans and

become subject to them need not on that account be doubted.

The people of Alba, however, bore their subjection to their neighbour with great reluctance, as was shown very soon after, during a war of Rome against the town of Fidenæ, in which the Albans, who were bound to support Rome, formed the treacherous design of joining Fidenæ, if the Romans should be worsted. The treachery, however, was discovered by Tullus Hostilius, who, after successfully terminating the war, ordered the commander of the Albans to be put to death, and their city to be razed to the ground. This order was immediately carried into execution, and the Albans are said to have been transferred to Rome, where they were ordered to settle on the Cælian Hill. Some of the most distinguished Alban families obtained all the rights of Roman citizens, while the great body of the conquered people entered into a relation which was neither that of full citizens nor of slaves. They were called the *plebs* or *plebes*, to distinguish them from the old Roman citizens, who were called *patres*, *patricii*, or *populus Romanus*. The power of Rome was thus doubled by the fall of Alba, and the Roman king now waged a fresh war against the Sabines and Latins, over the latter of whom he claimed the same authority as that previously exercised by Alba. But the king's victories were of little avail, for by his neglect of the worship of the gods he had incurred their anger, and he and his whole house were destroyed by Jupiter with a flash of lightning.

After his death, *Ancus Marcius*, a Sabine from among the Tities, and a relation of Numa Pompilius, was raised to the throne, which he is said to have occupied from B.C. 640 to 616. He at once set about to revive the religious institutions, which had been neglected by his predecessor, but he was unable to devote his whole time to them, for the Latins, who had concluded a peace with Tullus Hostilius, thought that they might assert their independence under a peace-loving king like Ancus. He was thus obliged to resort to war, in which he displayed

no less vigour and energy than Romulus and Tullus Hostilius. Many of the Latin towns were taken, and some were destroyed, and at last the whole force of the Latins was defeated in a pitched battle near Medullia. Many thousands of them also were transferred to Rome, where Mount Aventine, and the valley between it and the Palatine Hill, were assigned to them as their habitation. These new settlers entered into the same relation as that of the conquered people of Alba—that is, they became plebeians, whose number must now have far surpassed that of the old citizens or patricians. These plebeians had no share in the assemblies of the *curiæ*, and were consequently excluded from the sovereign rights of their conquerors; but they were personally free and independent of the patricians. Considering their numerical superiority over the patricians, and the fact that there were among them men of influence and power in their former homes, such a state of things could not last long. It is further probable that a great many of the conquered Latins did not migrate to Rome, but remained in their old homes on their estates. Ancus is also said to have drawn Mount Janiculus within the city, to have connected the two banks of the river by means of a wooden bridge, to have built the port town of Ostia, and to have established salt-works at the mouth of the Tiber, whereby the Roman dominion was extended to the sea.

The reigns of the last two kings are most remarkable, because they form the period during which Rome obtained its commonalty, for thus the plebeians may be called. They form the most interesting part of the Roman population, for they never ceased struggling to remove the disabilities under which they were suffering, and to obtain as much power as was necessary to protect them against the arrogance and oppression of their patrician conquerors.

It is a curious fact that the legends represent the first four kings of Rome as alternately belonging to the Ramnes and Tities—that is, to the Latin and Sabine tribes—no king of the Luceres being mentioned.

The remaining three kings are said to have been foreigners, and the legends describe them as having come from Etruria. The first of them, Tarquinius Priscus, is described as a descendant of a Korinthian, Demaratus, who is said to have emigrated from Korinth, and to have settled in the town of Tarquinii, in Etruria. The sixth king, Servius Tullius, is in some traditions described as an Etruscan, but considering the liberal spirit in which he framed a new constitution for Rome, it appears more likely that he was of Latin origin.

It is further remarkable that the Roman state, which under Ancus Marcius is said to have comprised only a small portion of Latium, suddenly appears under his successor as a great monarchy, under which great architectural works are constructed, some of which remain down to the present day.

The fifth king, *Tarquinius Priscus*, who is reported to have reigned from B.C. 616 to 578, is represented, as already remarked, as a foreigner, who by his wealth and wisdom gained the favour of Ancus Marcius, and thereby succeeded in raising himself to the throne as his successor, to the exclusion of the sons of Ancus. One of his first acts was to increase the number of senators by one hundred, so that henceforth that body consisted of 300 members. It does not seem improbable that the increase in the number of senators was connected with the incorporation of the tribe of the Luceres with the state. In order further to increase his power, he undertook a war against the Latins, in which he was so successful, and brought home such splendid spoils, that out of them he was enabled to celebrate games more splendid than those of any of his predecessors. For this purpose he is said to have laid out the great race-course for horses and chariots, called the *Circus Maximus*. He then became involved in a war with the Sabines, and finding that his cavalry was insufficient, he doubled the centuries of cavalry, so as to raise their number to 1800. By this means he was enabled thoroughly to defeat his enemies. During these wars the Etruscans are said to have supported the king's

enemies, for which Tarquinius chastised them in two successful battles ; after which the Etruscans are reported to have submitted to the Romans. But what makes his reign still more illustrious are the great architectural works which he executed, such as the great sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*), whereby the Forum and other low districts of the city were drained, and which still exist in an almost perfect state of preservation. His foreign origin seems further to be attested by the innovations he introduced into the religious affairs of his people, for it was in his reign that the gods were first represented in human forms. He began the building of a temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, and he is further said to have intended to surround the city with a stone wall, which, however, was prevented by his wars, and to give to the plebeians a kind of organisation.

The two sons of Ancus, who had always considered themselves wrongly treated by Tarquinius, when they learned that he had determined to leave the throne to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, hired assassins to murder the king. But his wife, Tanaquil, kept the king's death secret for a time, and thereby contrived to secure the succession to her son-in-law.

Servius Tullius, who reigned from B.C. 578 to 534, is described, like his father-in-law, as a foreigner. His origin, however, is uncertain, and very wonderful stories are related of his early life. After he had ascended the throne, he is said to have undertaken a successful war against Veii, or, as some state, against all Etruria. But the glory of his reign did not consist in military undertakings, but in the fact that he gave to the Roman people a new constitution, which, with some changes, was retained by the Romans as long as they enjoyed any constitution at all.

Hitherto the patricians alone had formed the sovereign people (*populus Romanus*), while the plebeians had had to perform all the duties of citizens, without enjoying the rights of citizens. Servius Tullius first organised the whole body of the plebeians, by dividing them into thirty

local divisions, called tribes, four of which belonged to the city, and the remaining twenty-six to the country around it. Each tribe received its own magistrate, called *tribunus*, and the thirty tribes obtained the right to meet and discuss their own affairs. These meetings were called *comitia tributa*, to distinguish them from those of the patricians, called *comitia curiata*. A far more important reform was that he framed a constitution, by which a man's rights and duties were determined, not as hitherto, by birth alone, but by the amount of property he possessed. For this purpose he instituted a census, and according to it divided the whole people, both patricians and plebeians, into five property classes, the first of which possessed at least 100,000 asses, and the fifth at least 12,500. Those who had less than this minimum constituted the large class of what were called proletarians or *capite censi*, who did not belong to any class. Each class had assigned to it a number of votes or centuries (*centuriæ*). The first class had eighty, the second, third, and fourth twenty each, the fifth thirty, while the proletarians had only one, making altogether 171 centuries or votes. In addition to these the eighteen centuries of equites had eighteen votes, and carpenters and musicians had each two, so that the whole number of votes amounted to 193. The distribution of votes therefore was such, that when the first class and the eighteen centuries of equites agreed among themselves, a majority was obtained, and there was no need for the other classes to vote. All political power was thus vested in the wealthiest classes, so that for the moment the king's reform probably did not cause any violent change, except that the plebeians obtained the right to take part in the great national assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*), which at the same time represented the whole Roman people as an army, inasmuch as the class to which a man belonged determined the duties he had to perform as a soldier. To this new assembly were transferred all the more important rights which had previously belonged exclusively to the patrician *comitia curiata*.

Instead of continuing the war against the Latins, he managed to induce them to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome by peaceful means. He induced them, and apparently the Sabines also, to found a sanctuary to Diana on the Aventine. Lastly, he carried out the design of his predecessor, to surround the city with a wall, in which he included two more hills, the Viminal and Esquiline. By these things, and especially by his political reforms, Servius Tullius drew upon himself the hatred of the patricians, who, headed by Tarquinius, his own son-in-law, created a revolution, in which the aged king was murdered, and Tarquinius ascended the throne.

The account of this revolution runs as follows : In order to propitiate the sons of his predecessor, and to secure to them the succession, Servius had given his two daughters in marriage to the two sons of Tarquinius Priscus, Lucius and Aruns. The former, though capable of criminal actions, was not naturally disposed to crime, but he was married to a gentle and unambitious woman ; while the wife of his gentle brother Aruns, called Tullia, was still more passionate and ambitious than her brother-in-law. Tullia, vexed at the long life of her father, and at the indifference of her husband, who seemed willing to leave the succession to his more ambitious brother, planned the destruction of those who seemed to stand in her husband's way to the throne. A secret understanding was easily come to between her and Lucius, who was induced to kill his wife, while she murdered her husband. This design being accomplished, she and Lucius became united in marriage. Lucius, goaded on by his unscrupulous wife, formed a conspiracy with discontented patricians, and it was resolved to destroy the aged king. Tarquinius then summoned a meeting of the senate, and, adorned with the ensigns of royalty and accompanied by a band of armed followers, he entered the senate, delivered a wild speech against Servius Tullius, and tried to establish his legal claim to the throne. The king, when informed of these proceedings, hastened to the senate, intending to put a stop to such revolutionary proceedings. But Lucius

Tarquinius seized the feeble and defenceless old man, and hurled him down the steps of the senate house. When the old man tried to escape by flight, armed men were sent after him, who slew him, and left him a corpse in the street, covered with blood. Meanwhile Tullia also had driven to the senate, to receive the first news of her husband's success, and to congratulate him. This unnatural conduct was too much even for Lucius Tarquinius, who ordered her to return home. On her way, the chariot passed through the street in which her father's body was lying. The mules, on approaching it, reared, and the driver stopped; but Tullia ordered him to drive on, and the chariot passed over her father's body, the blood of which stained the garment of the unnatural daughter. The street in which this had happened was ever after called the accursed street (*Vicus Sceleratus*).

Lucius Tarquinius now reigned in a manner worthy of the means by which he had usurped the throne, that is, he acted as a tyrant, whence he has obtained the surname of *Superbus*, which signifies the haughty or the insolent. During his reign, which lasted from B.C. 534 to 510, he neither consulted the senate nor the people, but followed his own personal inclinations in everything. The reforms of *Servius Tullius* were abolished, and the labours of that king seemed to have been spent in vain. The acts of cruelty and oppression ascribed to him are almost incredible; but however this may be, it cannot be denied that he must have been a man of great military ability, for he extended his kingdom more than any of his predecessors, and adorned the city with great and useful architectural works. He compelled the Latin towns to conclude a treaty with him, in which Rome was recognised as the head of all the Latins. He conquered *Suessa Pometia*, a wealthy town of the *Volscians*, and strengthened the power of Rome by the establishment of the colonies of *Signia* and *Circeii*, whereby the conquered people were kept in subjection. But notwithstanding these military achievements, his unpopularity was daily increasing, both with the senators and with

the people; many of the former were put to death or sent into exile, while the people were groaning under their heavy taxes, and the task-work imposed upon them in the construction of public buildings. The king, it is said, was further harassed by dreams and awful prodigies. Uneasy at all these symptoms of the discontent of his subjects, and the anger of the gods, he sent two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, to consult the oracle of Delphi. To amuse them on their journey, he sent with them a cousin, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who had assumed the character of an idiot, in order to escape the danger of being put to death. When the princes had executed their father's orders at Delphi, they also consulted the god about themselves; and the answer was, that he should be king of Rome who should be the first to kiss his mother. The two brothers agreed to kiss their mother at the same time, so that they might rule in common; but on their landing in Italy, Brutus, as if falling by accident, without being observed, kissed the earth, the mother of all.

During the latter part of his reign, Tarquinius was involved in a war with Ardea, a fortified town of the Rutulians, who had probably refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The town accordingly was besieged, but with little success; and one day, while the king's sons and their cousin, Tarquinius Collatinus, were feasting in their tents and discussing the virtues of their wives, it was arranged that the three should go home unexpectedly by night, to see how the princesses were spending their time. The wives of the two brothers were found at Rome, revelling at a luxurious banquet; but when they came to Collatia, they found *Lucretia*, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, engaged in domestic occupations with her maid-servants. She accordingly was acknowledged to be the best of the three; but in her humble occupation she appeared so lovely and beautiful, that a few days later Sextus Tarquinius, one of the princes, returned to Collatia, where, as a kinsman, he was hospitably received. But in the dead of night he

entered her chamber, and threatened to expose her name to everlasting shame, if she refused to gratify his lust. By intimidation he gained his end. But on the following morning Lucretia sent for her father and husband, who came accompanied by Publius Valerius and Lucius Junius Brutus. To these four men Lucretia revealed the crime committed upon her, and having called upon them to avenge the wrong, plunged a dagger into her own breast. Brutus now throwing off the mask of idiocy, and drawing the dagger from the wound, vowed destruction to the royal house of the Tarquins. The three others took the same oath, and the people of Collatia having been informed of what had happened, at once took up arms. The conspirators then hastened to Rome, summoned an assembly of the people, where it was unanimously decreed to depose and banish the whole royal family. Brutus, who is said to have held the office of commander of the horse (*tribunus celerum*), then set out for Ardea to gain over the army. The king, as soon as he heard the news, hastened to Rome, in the hope of being able to quell the insurrection, but found the gates closed against him. Meanwhile the army also followed the summons of Brutus; and the king, with his queen and two of his sons, took refuge at Cære in Etruria. His son Sextus went to Gabii, where soon after he was slain on account of an act of treachery he had previously committed against that town.

Such is the traditional story of a revolution which for ever put an end to the kingly government. How much of it may be true cannot possibly be ascertained; but there can be no doubt that Tarquinius Superbus was the last king of Rome, and that his reign had been very despotic, though tradition may have much exaggerated his misdeeds. Whether, however, the revolution was accomplished in the quick and quiet manner described in the legend, is more than doubtful.

We have seen that the Roman kings were raised to the throne by election, and it is only under the later kings that we hear of sons claiming to succeed their

fathers. The time during which the seven kings are said to have reigned is unusually long; and there is good reason for believing that the whole kingly period was made up artificially, for every one of the kings is represented as having founded one or other of the great institutions of the kingdom; nay, it is even doubtful whether Rome had only seven kings. But certain it is, that the king was elected from among the patricians, at first alternately from the Ramnes and the Sabines; that he was the chief commander of the armies, the supreme judge, and the high priest of the nation. His power, however, was not absolute, for on all important matters he had to consult the senate. The number of senators being three hundred, seems to suggest that they were chosen by the king to represent the three patrician tribes. The king's power was further limited by the assembly of the old citizens or patricians (*comitia curiata*), until, by the reforms of Servius Tullius, the great national assembly (*comitia centuriata*) stepped into its place. All matters that were laid before the assembly, such as questions about peace and war, the election of magistrates, and proposals of new laws, were first considered by the senate, and when sanctioned by that body, were brought before the assembly, which might either adopt or reject them.

As to the civilisation of the Romans during the regal period, we have seen that they had a regularly organised form of government, that they dwelt in fortified towns, had regular armies, and lived chiefly by agriculture and the breeding of cattle. During the later period they constructed great architectural works, such as the great Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which was completed by Tarquinius Superbus; and the great sewers, parts of which still exist in a perfect state of preservation. The religion of the Romans also seems to have undergone considerable changes during the reign of the Tarquins, for it is in the reign of the last of them that we hear of the gods being represented in human forms. The legendary history further reveals to us the mode of life of those

early Romans, who do not seem to have been very far behind in their social life from that of our own ancestors. The art of writing, with which the Romans became acquainted through the Greeks settled in southern Italy, appears to have been introduced in the time of the first Tarquin, but was certainly not employed for literary purposes. Money was first coined by Servius Tullius; it consisted of brass marked with the figure of some domestic animal, whence the Latin name for money is *pecunia* (from *pecus*, cattle).



JUNIUS BRUTUS



THE BATTERING-RAM.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE
LEGISLATION OF THE DECENVIRS.

B.C. 509 TO B.C. 451.

AFTER the expulsion of Tarquinius, in B.C. 509, the people assembled in the *comitia centuriata* formally abolished the kingly power for ever, restored the constitution of Servius Tullius, and elected two magistrates from among the patricians, who, under the title of *prætors*, afterwards called *consuls*, were to conduct the government for one year. The first prætors or consuls were *Lucius Junius Brutus* and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, who had the same power and the same outward distinctions as the kings, except that the priestly functions of the king were transferred to a dignitary styled *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificulus*, and that the administration of the treasury was assigned to two officers called *quæstores æuarii*. The senate and the *comitia centuriata*, of course, retained the powers assigned to them by the Servian constitution. The power of the patricians, instead of being diminished by the establishment of a republic, was in reality somewhat increased, inasmuch as two of their body might every year be raised to the highest magistracy. The plebeians, on the other hand, were probably in a worse

condition than they had been under the kings, as the latter would naturally favour the plebeians in order to have in them a support against the arrogant and ambitious patricians; they were still excluded from all public offices, from the right of contracting legal marriages with the patricians, and other privileges reserved for the ruling citizens. In the great national assembly they appeared indeed on a footing of equality with the patricians; but the latter, by the overwhelming number of their votes, were enabled to carry every measure, so that the power of the plebeians was in reality only nominal. The administration of the laws, moreover, was still entirely in the hands of the patricians. Under such circumstances, a conflict between the two estates, sooner or later, was unavoidable.

The young republic, in order to secure its existence, had to struggle against domestic as well as foreign enemies, by whose assistance Tarquinius hoped to effect his restoration. In the very first year, a conspiracy was formed among a number of young patricians for the purpose of restoring the exiled monarch; they were joined even by the sons of Brutus. When it was found out, the guilty were put to death, and Brutus, with a sternness peculiarly characteristic of a Roman, ordered his own sons to be executed. But a greater danger came from Etruria, where Tarquinius had asked and obtained the assistance of *Porsenna*, lars or king of Clusium. The Etruscans are said to have marched against Rome and to have pitched their camp on Mount Janiculum, on the right bank of the Tiber. The accounts of this war represent the valour and daring of the Romans in the most brilliant colours, though as we shall see hereafter, the whole has been much embellished and exaggerated by oral tradition. On one occasion, it is said, the Romans crossed the Tiber with the intention of driving the enemy from his stronghold, but were repulsed and returned to the city; and the enemy would have pursued them across the river, had not *Horatius Cocles*, a bold and powerful Roman, who was guarding the wooden bridge with two comrades, kept the

whole hostile army at bay, while his countrymen were busily engaged in breaking down the bridge. He is even said to have dismissed his two comrades and alone to have resisted the whole army until the bridge was demolished. He then threw himself into the river, and safely swam across, amid showers of darts from the Etruscans. He was afterwards rewarded by his countrymen with a statue in the Comitium, the place of assembly of the patricians, and with as much land as he could plough round in a day. A similar story of daring is related about one *Mucius Scaevola*. As during the protracted siege Rome was beginning to suffer from famine, young Scaevola, with the consent of the senate, undertook to deliver his country from the enemy by murdering Porsenna. He contrived to find his way to the tent of the Etruscan chief, but by a mistake slew the king's scribe instead of the king himself. He was accordingly seized at once, and as the king tried by threats to extort from him a full confession of his object, Scaevola thrust his right hand into the fire which was burning upon an altar, to show that he dreaded neither torture nor death. The king, full of admiration of the young man's daring, dismissed him, but was told that 300 other Roman youths had sworn to take the king's life. The king, frightened at this, negotiated a peace with the Romans, only demanding that the territory taken from Veii should be restored, whereupon he withdrew with his army.

However delightful such stories are which the vanity of the Romans in after-times invented to embellish the first struggles of their republic, we know upon good authority that Porsenna for a time was master of Rome, and consented to depart only on receiving hostages and one-third of the Roman territory—that is, ten out of the thirty local tribes. The unhistorical character of the stories is further evident from the fact that the exiled Tarquinius is never once mentioned during the war with Porsenna, who himself likewise entirely disappears after the war.

Some other tribes also, such as the Sabines and Aurun-

cans, are said to have waged war against Rome, but unsuccessfully. A more formidable war broke out in B.C. 501 with the Latins, whom Tarquinius had stirred up against the Romans through the influence of some of his Latin kinsmen. All the Latin towns rose against Rome, and the war was protracted for several years. At last, in B.C. 498, the Romans thinking it safer to entrust the conduct of the war to a single commander instead of the two consuls, appointed Titus Larcus dictator with full power. This measure is said to have kept the enemies in awe, but still the war was continued for two years longer, until in B.C. 496 it was brought to an end by the famous battle on the shores of Lake Regillus. In it the Romans were victorious, and it was currently said that the gods Castor and Pollux had been seen fighting on their side. The account of this battle, which may be said to form the close of the legendary period of Roman history, is altogether unworthy of belief, for, three years later, the Latins concluded a treaty with the Roman consul *Spurius Cassius* in which they were placed on a footing of perfect equality with Rome, without any further war being mentioned to account for this favour. King Tarquinius himself is said to have been wounded in the battle, and to have withdrawn to Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumæ, where he died in the following year, B.C. 495.

As long as Rome had to contend against foreign enemies, the patricians managed to keep the plebeians, who formed the main strength of the Roman armies, in good humour; but no sooner had the dangers disappeared, than they began to abuse their privileged position against the plebeians, whom they treated as their subjects. We have already seen that they were conquered Latins who, though free, did not possess the franchise, but were obliged to pay tribute to the republic and serve in the armies without pay. It often happened that, when they were engaged against foreign enemies, their fields (for they were mostly small landed proprietors), if not ravaged or taken by the enemy, were at any rate neglected, so that at harvest time there was nothing to reap. The result of

this was, that in their distress they had often to borrow money of their wealthy neighbours, generally patricians, at the exorbitant rate of interest of from ten to twelve per cent. ; and the severity of the Roman law entitled the creditor, if the debtor did not repay the borrowed money at the stipulated time, to seize his person and treat him as if he were his slave. From such misery the patricians were exempted, inasmuch as their estates were cultivated by their clients, who did not serve in war. Such a state of things naturally became more and more unbearable, and as the patricians had the law on their side, the plebeians in B.C. 495, rose in open rebellion and withdrew to a hill a few miles distant from Rome, resolved not to return until their grievances should be redressed. Several attempts were made to pacify them, but with no result, until Menenius Agrippa, a messenger of the senate, prevailed upon them, by the well-known fable of the belly and the members, to abandon their design, and promised that their grievances should be remedied. A compact was then concluded between the patricians and plebeians, that all who had lost their freedom through debt should be set free, and that five tribunes of the plebs should be appointed, whose duty it was to be to protect the plebeians against any abuse of the authority of a patrician magistrate, and whose persons were to be sacred and inviolate. At the same time two plebeian ædiles were appointed, whose business it was to superintend the public buildings and to exercise a sort of control over merchants and usurers. When this solemn compact was concluded, the plebeians quitted the hill, which was ever after called the Sacred Mount, and returned to Rome.

Such was the beginning of the long protracted struggle between the two orders, throughout which the patricians acted more or less the part of an exclusive aristocracy, while the plebeians represented what we may call the great body of the people. The tenacity and selfishness with which the former clung to their rights and privileges, and the indomitable perseverance of the latter to obtain the full civic franchise, constitute for some centuries the

most interesting portion in the development of the Roman state. Had the patricians succeeded, Rome would have become a rigid oligarchy, and would never have played any important part in the world's history. It was owing to the persevering resistance of the plebeians that Rome gradually developed into a mighty state, and in the end became the mistress of the ancient world.

During the secession of the plebs, agriculture had of course been almost entirely neglected, and Rome was beginning to suffer from famine. When at length ships laden with corn arrived from Sicily, the insolent patrician *Marcus Coriolanus* proposed that none of it should be given to the plebeians unless they renounced all the advantages gained by the compact of the Sacred Mount. At this the plebeians were so exasperated that their tribunes brought an action against him, in which he was outlawed. He accordingly, in B.C. 491, took refuge as an exile among the Volscians, whom he instigated to wage war against Rome, promising that he would act as their guide and leader. Under his command the Volscians and Æquians advanced within a few miles of Rome, and nothing could induce him to abandon his unpatriotic undertaking, until he was prevailed upon by the tears and entreaties of his wife and mother. *Coriolanus* is said to have died soon after, overwhelmed with grief and shame; but the Volscians retained possession of some important Latin towns they had taken.

In the year B.C. 486, the same *Spurius Cassius* who had concluded the alliance with the Latins, brought about another on equal terms with the Hernicans, so that now the Romans, Latins, and Hernicans formed a strong confederacy against any foreign enemies. About the same time the first attempt was made to legislate about the public or domain land (*ager publicus*). These lands having been acquired by conquest, were very extensive, and belonged not to any individual, but to the state, that is, to the *populus* or patricians, who took possession of it on condition of their paying a nominal rent to the treasury. They knew, of course, that the state might reclaim

such lands at any time, but they nevertheless gradually came to regard them as their private property, and had them cultivated by their clients and slaves. Spurius Cassius, in his third consulship, B.C. 486, was the first Roman who proposed and carried an agrarian law, enacting that a certain portion of the public land should be assigned to those plebeians who did not possess any landed property. His noble efforts to prevent the growth of pauperism, and to transform a number of poor plebeians into industrious husbandmen, were ill requited, for when he laid down his consulship he was accused by his fellow patricians of high treason, condemned, and beheaded. The house in which he had lived was razed to the ground, and its site declared accursed ground. The patricians scrupled at nothing to prevent the law, though passed in due form, being carried into effect. Many years later, B.C. 473, the tribune *Genucius* arraigned the consuls for not allowing the law to be carried out; but on the morning before the day of the trial he was found murdered in his own house. Such acts of violence for a time intimidated the plebeians and their friends, but they still persevered, and, as we shall see, in the end compelled the patricians to yield.

The internal feuds between the two orders had the effect of weakening the power of Rome so much, that the Etruscans and *Æquians* were enabled to make themselves masters of several of the towns subject to Rome. The war against the Etruscans especially went on for a long time without any advantage to the Romans. There was at the time a Roman clan, called the *Fabia gens*, consisting of 306 men, who before this time had been proud and haughty champions of their order against the plebeians, but afterwards are said to have changed their minds and to have sided with the plebeians, which brought upon them the hatred of their fellow patricians. They now proposed to the senate to **carry** on the long protracted war against the Etruscan town of *Veii* at their own expense. The request was granted, and the whole clan proceeding against the enemy, ravaged the country, and were successful in many an enterprise. But in the end they were drawn into an

ambuscade, and the whole clan was surrounded and cut to pieces, in B.C. 477, on the banks of the river Cremera. Only one young member of the clan who had remained behind at Rome survived, and became the ancestor of the Fabii whom we meet with in the subsequent history of Rome. This story of the Fabii seems to be only a popular legend, though it probably had some historical foundation, for it must be remembered that, although the battle of Lake Regillus may be regarded as concluding the mythical or legendary period, many of the subsequent events are still far from being well authenticated, the Romans themselves in their vanity having exaggerated and embellished many of the occurrences of their early history.

While Rome was thus engaged against the Etruscans, the Æquians and Volscians also continued their inroads into the Roman territory. The former, it is said, had concluded a peace with Rome; but their commander, Gracchus Clælius, nevertheless continued hostilities from Mount Algidus. At last, the Roman consul Minucius, after having been defeated, was besieged in his own camp. Five horsemen who had escaped before the camp was surrounded, brought the sad news to Rome; and the senate at once appointed *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator, B.C. 458. The news of his elevation was brought to him on his farm, which he cultivated with his own hands. He appointed Tarquinius his master of the horse, and in three days he succeeded in enlisting a numerous army, with which he marched to Mount Algidus. The Romans having received a signal that succour had arrived, broke through the surrounding enemy, and a desperate battle commenced, in which the Æquians, seeing no means of escape, implored Cincinnatus to spare them. The Æquian commander and the leading officers were put in chains, while the rest of the army had to lay down their arms and pass under the yoke, a sign of humiliation to which the Romans usually subjected a defeated foe. The town of Corbio and the camp of the enemy fell into the hands of the Romans. Cincinnatus then returned to Rome in triumph, and was rewarded with a golden crown. He

had held the dictatorship for no more than sixteen days, and laying down his office, he returned to his farm. This story also seems to be only a popular legend embodying the simple fact that Minucius was saved by succour being sent to him from Rome. The Æquians, however, continued the war with varying success until B.C. 446, when the great battle of Corbio weakened them so much that for a time they were obliged to remain quiet.

There existed as yet at Rome no code of written laws. The making as well as the administration of the laws based upon ancient usage, was altogether in the hands of the patricians, who were often guilty of acts of flagrant injustice. The plebeians, beginning to feel their power more and more, demanded that a code of laws should be drawn up, which might give them a knowledge of the laws and of the forms of procedure. The patricians, unwilling to give up any of their privileges, violently opposed the demand; but in B.C. 471, the tribune, *Publius Volero*, in spite of the most determined opposition, carried several laws enacting that the plebeian magistrates should be elected in the comitia tributa, and that these comitia should have the power to pass resolutions upon matters affecting the interests of the whole state. These measures created the greatest excitement, and the exasperation between the patricians and plebeians produced a complete division among the Roman citizens. At the same time, the city was visited by an epidemic which carried off large numbers of all ranks. By these circumstances Rome was so much weakened, that the Æquians and Volscians carried their predatory inroads up to the very gates of Rome.

The first formal demand for a written code of laws was made in B.C. 462 by the tribune *Terentillus Arsa*. The scheme was violently opposed by the patricians, but to no purpose, for similar demands continued to be repeated, as the plebeians were determined to gain their point. In B.C. 457, a law was passed increasing the number of tribunes from five to ten, for it seems to have been found that five were not sufficient to afford protection to the

plebeians in all cases. In B.C. 454, the bill of Terentillus Arsa was brought forward again, and it was at last resolved that the law should be revised, and that three senators should be sent to Athens to study the laws and constitution of that and other Greek states, and to report on such laws and institutions as might seem applicable to Rome.



CORIO LANUS, HIS WIFE, AND MOTHER.



▲ BRONZE COIN.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DECENVIRAL LEGISLATION TO THE FINAL SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM.

B.C. 451 TO B.C. 338.

WHEN the three ambassadors returned from Greece and had made their report, it was resolved to appoint a commission of ten patricians (*decemviri*) to draw up a code of laws, that they should have full power to act in all matters according to their own discretion, and that the powers of all other magistrates should be suspended while the decemvirs were engaged on their work. The decemvirs entered upon their task in B.C. 451, and performed their duties honestly and satisfactorily; but as at the end of the first year their work was still incomplete, they were permitted to continue in office for another year. The decemvirs now began to act in the most arbitrary and cruel manner against every one who ventured to express an opinion upon their doings; nay, an aged and brave plebeian, whose opposition they feared, and who happened to be serving in the army, was drawn into a snare and murdered at the instigation of the decemvirs.

At the end of the second year, the decemvirs, although their task was completed, and the laws were engraved upon twelve tables, still persisted in retaining their office,

and might perhaps have succeeded in establishing a patrician oligarchy, had not the haughty and insolent *Appius Claudius*, the most influential among them, by a glaring act of injustice, called forth a general rising of the people against them. Claudius had conceived a desire to obtain possession of the beautiful Virginia, the daughter of the plebeian Virginius. In order to gain his object, he persuaded one of his clients to declare the maiden to be a runaway slave of his own, and to claim her as his property before Claudius himself. A large concourse of people assembled, and Claudius did not scruple to declare that Virginia belonged to his client. But her father, having obtained permission to take her aside for a few moments for the purpose of taking leave, plunged a knife into her heart to save her from dishonour.

The infamous act of Claudius created the greatest excitement in the city. The authority of the decemvirs was at once set at defiance; and the army, which happened to be engaged against the Sabines, on hearing what had happened, proceeded to Mount Aventine, where they took up a strong position; and the plebeians, with their wives and children, emigrated to the Sacred Mount, resolved to leave Rome and seek a new home elsewhere. Valerius and Horatius, the two most popular among the patricians, were despatched by the senate to treat with the plebeians, and come to an understanding with them on the best terms they could. The plebeians demanded the deposition of the decemvirs, and for themselves a complete amnesty, and the right of appeal against any patrician magistrate. These demands being granted and sanctioned by the senate, the plebeians returned to the city. Appius Claudius was thrown into prison, where he committed suicide; one of his colleagues died in the same manner, and the remaining eight went into exile.

But the new laws enacted by the decemvirs and engraved upon twelve tables, remained in force, and were set up in public. They mostly referred to the civil and criminal law, and ever after formed the basis of the whole

of the Roman law. The only constitutional change which they seem to have introduced was that henceforth the patricians should become members of the local plebeian tribes. But no great power could be exercised by the patricians in the assembly of the tribes, as the tribes could not yet influence the making of new laws. The only gain for the plebeians was that the laws had become fixed, so that the commonalty was no longer exposed to the arbitrary proceedings of the patricians. In all other respects their condition remained the same as before, for they were still excluded from the highest offices of the state, as well as from participating in the public land, nor could a plebeian contract a legal marriage with a patrician.

Although the patricians, by recent experience, ought to have learned that their selfishness and avarice could lead only to most unfortunate results, they still continued to annoy and oppress the plebeians in every way; and although the more daring among the latter sometimes felt inclined to take vengeance into their own hands, the great body of the plebeians were moderate but firm, and showed a determination, in the course of time, to gain for themselves perfect equality with the patricians.

In the year B.C. 445, the tribune *Canuleius* brought forward a bill demanding for the plebeians the right of contracting legal marriages (*connubium*) with patricians; and the bill was passed in spite of the fiercest opposition. In another bill he proposed that it should be left optional to the people to elect one of the two consuls from among the plebeians. The latter of these bills gave rise to many long and violent discussions; but in the end it was agreed that instead of consuls, *military tribunes with consular power* should be elected and taken indiscriminately from the plebeians as well as from the patricians. The senate, however, reserved to itself the power of determining whether in any given year the highest authority should be entrusted to consuls as before, or to military tribunes. By this means the consulship was reserved for the patricians, who in many cases also contrived to keep the mili-

tary tribuneship within their own order. The patricians, however, seem to have foreseen that sooner or later the plebeians would gain their end; and in order that they might never enjoy the full powers of the consulship, two censors were appointed, in B.C. 443, whose functions had previously been connected with the consulship. This new office was to be open to patricians only, and was filled up every five years (*lustrum*), though the censors had to perform their duties within the space of eighteen months. Their chief functions were to draw up lists of all Roman citizens, in which they were classed according to their rank and property. They had further to collect the rent for the domain land, to give in contract the building of temples and the making of roads and bridges; they further exercised a severe control over the morals of the citizens, and were empowered to punish offences against morality by depriving the offenders of their civil rights, or of their rank and station in society. The verdict of a censor, however, was not permanent, but might be reversed by his successor.

The advantages gained by the plebeians through recent legislation somewhat softened the animosity between the two orders of citizens; but still the patricians never neglected an opportunity of annoying and humbling the plebeians. Thus, when in B.C. 440 Rome was visited by a famine, and when all endeavours to mitigate the evil were of no avail, a wealthy plebeian, *Spurius Mælius*, purchased large quantities of grain and sold it at a moderate price to the famishing people, in consequence of which he acquired great influence. His popularity alarmed the patricians, and fearing treacherous plots and conspiracies, they charged him with the crime of endeavouring to make himself king of Rome. The aged Quinctius Cincinnatus being appointed dictator, in B.C. 439 summoned Mælius before his tribunal, and as Mælius refused to appear, he was slain in broad daylight by Servilius Ahala, the dictator's master of the horse.

During these internal agitations the Roman armies fought many successful battles against their enemies; and

Rome, strengthened by the alliance with the Latins and Hernicans, gained repeated victories over the Volscians and Æquians. The town of Fidenæ, an ancient Roman colony, was destroyed in B.C. 426, because it had committed many outrages against Rome. During its last struggle it had been supported by the Etruscan city of Veii. In consequence of this, Veii became involved in a long and desperate war with Rome, which had to direct all its forces against this enemy. The war is said to have lasted ten years, and to have been ultimately, in B.C. 396, brought to an end by *Camillus*. The story of the siege and capture of Veii is indeed mixed up with many fables, but it is pretty certain that most of its inhabitants were destroyed and the rest sold as slaves. During this protracted war it became evident that it was most injurious and inconvenient for the men to remain so long absent from home, and the senate of its own accord decreed that in future the soldiers should receive pay from the public treasury, for until then they had been obliged to equip and maintain themselves. *Camillus*, the conqueror of Veii, celebrated a magnificent triumph; but as he was believed to have appropriated to himself more than his legitimate share in the booty, and refused to consent to the territory of Veii being distributed among the plebeians, he became extremely unpopular, and in B.C. 391 he was publicly accused of having secreted a portion of the spoil taken at Veii. In order to escape condemnation he went into voluntary exile, declaring when he left Rome that the time would soon come when his help would be needed. And he was not wrong, for Rome was on the eve of coming in conflict with an enemy more formidable than any she had yet encountered.

Swarms of Gauls are said to have crossed the Alps as early as the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and to have driven those Etruscans who until then had occupied the plains of Lombardy, across the Apennines into the country which ever after bore their name. For a time the Apennines formed the barrier between them and the Etruscans; but in B.C. 390 large bodies of Gauls crossed the mountains,

and, under the command of a chief called *Prennus*, laid siege to the Etruscan town of Clusium. Its inhabitants, looking round for assistance, applied to the Romans, who at first only sent ambassadors to the Gauls to remonstrate with them; but as the barbarians paid no attention to them, the ambassadors took part in a battle which ensued, and slew one of the Gallic chiefs. The Gauls complained of this violation of the law of nations, and demanded the surrender of the offenders; and as this was haughtily refused, they at once gave up the siege of Clusium, and marched southward towards Rome. They met a Roman army on the banks of the little river *Allia*, about eleven miles from Rome, and so completely defeated it, that only a few survived the day. They then advanced to Rome, which was in a defenceless state, and easily fell into the hands of the invaders. The city was set on fire, and eighty senators, resolved to devote themselves as a propitiatory sacrifice to the gods, sat down in their curule chairs in the Forum, and were ruthlessly massacred. The Capitol alone, to which many of the most valuable treasures had been carried, was defended by a small garrison under the command of *Manlius Capitolinus*. The Gauls, elated with their recent victory, abandoned themselves to every kind of excess, in consequence of which many perished during the protracted siege of the Capitol, which lasted for seven months. Tradition says that Brennus, induced by these calamities, entered into negotiation with the Romans, and accepted a thousand pounds of gold on condition that he should quit the territory of Rome, but that he insolently increased the amount of gold by throwing his sword into the scale containing the weights. At this moment Camillus, who had been recalled from his exile, arrived with a fresh army at the gates of Rome, where he utterly annihilated the enemy, and recovered all the booty which they had intended to carry off. This story of the sacking and burning of Rome by the Gauls is indeed an historical fact, but the account of the manner in which the Romans got rid of the enemy is a mere fiction invented by Roman vanity, for it is now a well-known fact that the Gauls

departed from Rome with their booty unmolested, because their own country beyond the Apennines had in the meantime been invaded by other swarms of Gauls descending from the Alps.

When the Gauls left Rome a heap of blackened ruins, the people were not inclined to restore their habitations, and proposed to emigrate and take possession of the deserted city of Veii. The patricians, however, clinging to their ancient homes, with great difficulty prevailed upon the people to abandon their design, but allowed them to demolish the houses still standing at Veii, and use the materials in rebuilding their own homes at Rome. Rome was thus hastily restored, and as little attention could be paid to beauty and order, the streets ever after were narrow, crooked, and irregular. The sufferings of the people must have been very severe in consequence of the ravages and devastations of the Gauls, and many had fallen into great poverty; but the patricians applied the law of debt, which had not been altered in the Twelve Tables, with the utmost rigour, and many poor plebeians were pining away in the dungeons of the patricians. Their condition at last excited the sympathy of the brave Manlius Capitolinus, who proposed a general reduction of the debts and a distribution of the public land among the impoverished people. This proposal exasperated his brother patricians to such a degree that they brought against him the futile charge of aiming at kingly power, and procured his condemnation. The man who had saved the Capitol was accordingly thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, his house was razed to the ground, and his name treated as that of an accursed person. These disgraceful proceedings took place in the year B.C. 384.

But these were not the only misfortunes resulting from the Gallic invasion, for during the humiliation of Rome the Hernicans and many Latin towns renounced their alliance with her, and the Volscians, Æquians, and Etruscans resumed their hostilities. The last three of these nations were defeated one after another by Camillus, the greatest general of the period, and Sutrium and Nepes

in Etruria were made Roman colonies to keep the country in subjection. Some of the Latin towns also were reduced to submission, and Rome was rapidly recovering from the evils of the late invasion. In order to pacify the more clamorous among the poor, the senate in B.C. 383, had assigned the Pomptine district to the poor plebeians. But the murder of Manlius, their champion, roused the plebeians to more vigorous resistance to their oppressors. At last, in B.C. 376, *Licinius Stolo* and *Lucius Sextius*, two bold and energetic tribunes, undertook to introduce such reforms as might still save Rome from falling into a state of anarchy. They brought forward three bills: (1.) that henceforth two consuls should be elected annually, as of old, but that one of them should always be a plebeian; (2.) that no one should be allowed to occupy more than five hundred jugera (acres) of the public land, that the surplus should be taken from the former occupants and given to the plebeians as their full property; and (3.) that the interest already paid upon debts should be deducted from the principal, and that the remainder should be paid off by three yearly instalments. For a period of nearly ten years the patricians did everything to prevent these bills from becoming law; but all their contrivances to thwart them, and even the elevation of Camillus to the dictatorship, were of no avail against the firmness and perseverance of the tribunes; for the tribunes, who had by this time acquired much greater power than was entrusted to them at their first appointment, continued to prevent the election of magistrates and the levies for the armies by their *veto*, whereby they could stop any public act of a magistrate. At length, in B.C. 367, after a long period of strife and anarchy, the patricians felt themselves compelled to give way: the bills of the tribunes became law, and the year after Lucius Sextius was elected the first plebeian consul. But being obliged to give up the consulship, the patricians again contrived to strip it of one of its main functions, that is, the jurisdiction in civil cases, which was now assigned to a special officer called *Prætor*, who was to be chosen exclusively

from among the patricians. But such reservations and precautions were of little use, for ten years later, B.C. 356, a plebeian was appointed dictator; in B.C. 351 a plebeian was made censor; in B.C. 337 a plebeian obtained the prætorship; and in B.C. 300 the priestly offices of pontifex and augur were thrown open to the plebeians. By these successive reforms the two orders were gradually placed on a footing of equality; and Rome, internally united and strong, was enabled to enter upon the grand career assigned to it by Providence.

The reconciliation effected between the two orders had many opportunities of showing its good results, for very soon after, Rome had to contend not only against swarms of Gauls who still overran and ravaged Italy, but against the most powerful nation in Central Italy. It was in the course of these Gallic wars that Caius Marcius was the first plebeian dictator, B.C. 356, and that *Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvus* are said to have distinguished themselves by deeds of valour that have rendered their names immortal. In B.C. 358, it is said, the Gauls had pitched their camp on the banks of the Allia, and a Gaul of gigantic stature, stepping on the bridge separating the two armies, challenged any Roman to fight him. Titus Manlius, a young Roman, with the consul's permission, accepted the challenge, and, lightly armed, he advanced against the Gallic giant, and pressed on him so closely that the barbarian was unable to use his arms against him. Manlius pierced him with his sword through the side and belly, and when the enemy lay prostrate on the ground, Manlius stripped him of his gold chain (*torques*) and put it round his own neck. From this circumstance he received the surname of Torquatus. Eight years later, when another swarm of Gauls appeared in the very neighbourhood of Rome, a powerful barbarian, according to the usual custom of his nation, challenged the bravest of the Romans to a single combat. Marcus Valerius, a young tribune of the soldiers, came forward, and when the combat began, a raven (*corvus*) which had settled upon the helmet of Valerius, at every onset flew into the face

of the Gaul, who, being thus unable to see, was slain by the young Roman. The latter, from this wonderful ally received the surname of Corvus.

The success of the Romans in these Gallic wars, as already observed, was owing to some extent to the restoration of union and harmony among themselves; much also appears to have been the result of various improvements in their armour and tactics which had been introduced by Camillus. They were further strengthened by a renewal of the alliance with Latium.

Rome was thus prepared for any emergency, and opportunities soon occurred in which it was decided whether Rome should become the mistress of Italy or not. The *Samnites*, the most powerful nation in Central Italy, came into conflict with Rome in B.C. 343. They had then been in alliance and on friendly terms with Rome for ten years. They had previously spread their influence over a great part of Southern Italy by colonising Capua, the plains of Campania, and Lucania, though in the course of time these colonies had become estranged from the mother country. The manner in which they became involved in war with Rome is related as follows. The Samnites were engaged in hostilities against the Sidicines, who, being too weak, applied to Capua for assistance. Capua willingly granted the request, but was defeated by the Samnites in two battles. In its distress Capua applied to Rome for help; but as the Romans hesitated to support strangers against the Samnites, their own allies, Capua offered to recognise the supremacy of Rome, if she would grant the request. Rome at once accepted the offer, and resolved to send succour to Capua. From this account we might expect hereafter to find Capua in the condition of a city subject to Rome; but such is not the case, and the truth is that the above story is a mere invention to disguise the fact that Rome had violated her treaty with Samnium. The war which thus broke out and lasted from B.C. 343 to B.C. 341, is only the first in a series of wars which were destined to decide which of the two nations was to have the supremacy in Italy. In the

first campaign the Romans, led on by Valerius Corvus, gained an important victory on Mount Gaurus. A second army, destined to invade Samnium, allowed itself to be drawn into a position among the mountains, where it would have been utterly destroyed, had it not been saved by the boldness and skill of the plebeian military tribune *Decius Mus*, who contrived to gain possession of an eminence overhanging the enemy, and thus enabled the Roman army to pass safely through the defile. In the second year of the war, nothing of any importance was achieved, and as the Latins showed symptoms of dissatisfaction, and disturbances broke out in Rome itself in consequence of the severe law of debt, the Romans thought it prudent to stop the war and renew the old alliance with the Samnites.

The inhabitants of Capua, thus finding themselves forsaken by the Romans, now sought an alliance with the Latins. In order to meet this fresh danger, the Romans at once, in B.C. 340, commenced hostile operations against the Latins. The latter, unwilling to take up arms against Rome, with which they had been allied so long, now demanded that Rome and Latium should be really united into one state, for hitherto the Romans had always more or less domineered over the Latins, though they were allies on equal terms. The Latins further demanded that one of the consuls and one-half of the senators should always be taken from the Latins. These demands, though they were not unreasonable, created such exasperation at Rome that war was declared at once. The war was carried on in Campania, and a great battle was fought at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, in which *Publius Decius Mus*, one of the consuls, caused himself to be devoted to death by a priest, and then furiously rushed among the Latins until he himself was slain. He thus sacrificed himself in the hope of thereby securing the victory to his countrymen. During the same campaign *Manlius Torquatus* exhibited an example of severity which was revolting even to the Romans themselves. Orders had been given that no soldier should engage in fighting out of his

own line; but Manlius, a son of Torquatus, being taunted and provoked by a haughty Latin, was unable to control his anger and slew him. Rejoiced at his victory, he carried the spoils of his enemy to his father, who, to punish his disobedience, ordered him to be put to death. The friends of young Manlius procured a splendid funeral for him, and the unnatural father was ever after shunned and detested for this excess of severity.

After the first defeat of the Latins, they were deserted by Capua, which made its peace with Rome on favourable terms. But the Latins continued the war with unabated vigour, until after another defeat in the second campaign the Latin confederacy broke up, in consequence of which most of the towns surrendered one after the other. Their example was followed by the Volscians, so that in B.C. 338 the subjugation of the Latins and Volscians was completed. Rome, however, treated the conquered people with moderation, for some of the towns received the full Roman franchise, while others obtained the franchise without the suffrage, or became Roman municipia—that is, towns whose internal administration was independent of Rome. Some important towns, however, whose resistance had been most formidable, were weakened by their best families being sent into exile, and by being deprived of a portion of their territory. Every Latin town, moreover, was isolated as much as possible from the others by a regulation that no person of one town was allowed to marry into another, or possess property in another. Rome thus secured for ever her power over the whole of Latium, and further strengthened her rule by the establishment of colonies in the conquered countries, which were in reality military garrisons, and generally received one-third of the landed property of the original inhabitants.

We have already mentioned that during the first Samnite war the internal peace of Rome had been disturbed by the severity of the law of debt. In the very year before the termination of the Latin war, B.C. 339, the dictator, *Publius Philo*, carried three important laws,

the first of which abolished the veto which the patrician comitia curiata had possessed on all legal enactments passed by the comitia centuriata; the second law gave to the decrees of the comitia tributa the full power of laws binding on the whole nation; and the third enacted that one of the censors should always be a plebeian. The last patrician privileges thus gradually disappeared one after another; and the Roman republic now consisted of citizens, all of whom possessed equal rights. The Latins and the allies, as they were termed, though in reality they were subjects of Rome, had to provide the greater part of the armies in the wars of the great city against her enemies.



THE CAPITOLINE TEMPLE.



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM TO THAT OF ALL ITALY.

B.C. 338 to B.C. 272.

THE great increase of power recently acquired by the Romans appears to have excited the jealousy of the Samnites; and the Romans becoming aware of this, endeavoured to strengthen themselves still more, partly by alliances with other Italian nations, and partly by the establishment of colonies on or near the frontiers of Samnium. One of these colonies, sent out in B.C. 328, was established on the site of Fregellæ, a Volscian town which had been taken and destroyed by the Samnites. As the territory thus belonged to the Samnites, they remonstrated with, and even threatened, Rome; and when, two years later, the Samnites supported Neapolis (Naples) in its war against Rome, the latter at once declared war. Neapolis soon after concluded peace with Rome, while Lucania, which had been allied with Rome, now joined the Samnites, who further received the support of Tarentum. Hostilities were commenced in Apulia, where the Romans conquered some towns which were in alliance with Samnium, and afterwards gained a decisive victory. The Samnites were thereby induced to ask for a truce of one year, which was granted; but

at the end of it a body of Samnites invaded Latium while the Roman army was still engaged in Apulia. Rome was in imminent danger, but as most of the Latin towns remained faithful, the enemy was driven back; and in Apulia, too, the Roman arms were successful. The Samnites offered to treat for peace, but the demands of the Romans were so exorbitant that the Samnites were unable to comply with them, and they now made every effort to defend their independence. In B.C. 321, the Romans, by the careless management of their consuls, Veturius and Postumius, lost nearly all the advantages they had gained in their previous campaigns. Their army was surrounded on all sides in the mountain pass of *Caudium*, and being defeated in a terrible battle, was compelled to surrender. All those who escaped death on that day had to pass under the yoke, and the Samnite commander *Pontius* generously offered them fair terms of peace. The conditions were accepted by the Roman commanders, and the army was allowed to return home. But the Roman senate haughtily refused to ratify the peace, and sent back in chains those who had concluded it. *Pontius* declined to receive them, and the war was continued by the Romans with the greatest vigour, to wipe off the disgrace of *Caudium*; and henceforth the Roman annals are full of accounts of brilliant victories over the Samnites; but one of their commanders, *Fabius Maximus*, was defeated in a hotly contested battle at *Lautulæ*, in consequence of which Rome lost several of her allied towns. However, the sufferings of the Samnites were daily increasing, and their strength diminishing. They were defeated in several engagements, while Campania and Apulia were obliged to submit to Rome, which might now easily have crushed the Samnites, had not fresh dangers arisen in other quarters.

In B.C. 311, the Etruscans, who had long looked upon Rome's growing power with uneasiness, took up arms against her, and thus obliged her to divide her forces. In consequence of this, the Roman armies in the south suffered a great defeat near *Allifæ*, and in Samnium their

legions found themselves in great distress. However, *Papirius Cursor*, who was appointed dictator in B.C. 309, so completely routed the Samnites, that they were compelled to take to flight, leaving their camp in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile a great coalition of the Marsians, Pelignians, Umbrians, Hernicans, and Æquians, was formed against Rome. The Umbrians were soon reduced to submission by Fabius Maximus, the war against the Etruscans was near its end, and the Hernicans were easily overpowered, so that the Romans being enabled to direct all their forces against the Samnites, put them to flight in all directions, B.C. 306. The coalition on which the Samnites had relied being now broken up, and their own armies defeated, they concluded a truce, in the hope of obtaining peace on tolerable terms. But their hopes were disappointed, for after the expiration of the truce, the Romans laid waste Samnium in all directions; and when, in B.C. 305, they suffered a further defeat, their power was completely crushed. Samnium was now obliged to accept the terms dictated by Rome: it had to give up the supremacy over Lucania, to renounce its alliance with other Italian nations, and, in fact, to concede to the Romans to interfere in all their foreign relations. This humiliating peace concluded the second Samnite war, in B.C. 304, having lasted twenty-four years.

The Hernicans, who had been easily reduced to submission in B.C. 306, experienced on the whole the same fate as the Latins. The Æquians rashly rose against Rome at a time when she had already concluded peace with Samnium, and they had to pay the penalty of seeing their towns conquered or destroyed one after another. The Etruscans also had begun their war too late, and after it had lasted for some years, their cities, in B.C. 308, began to conclude peace with Rome each for itself for a fixed number of years. During these wars Rome had made a treaty with Tarentum, in which it was stipulated that no Roman ships should sail beyond Cape Lacinium.

The short period following the conclusion of the peace with the Samnites was employed by the Romans in con-

solidating their power in the newly conquered countries. The Samnites, on the other hand, were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to recommence hostilities. Such an opportunity presented itself in the disturbed state of Lucania, over which they hoped to recover their supremacy. The nobility of that country, being at war with the people, placed themselves under the protection of the Romans, who at once called upon the Samnites to withdraw from Lucania, and not to interfere in its affairs. This demand produced such exasperation among the Samnites, that war was forthwith declared in B.C. 298. At the same time, the Etruscans again rose in arms, allied themselves with the Umbrians, and even called in the aid of Gallic mercenaries. During the first two years, the Samnites were defeated in several great battles, and their country was fearfully ravaged; and in the third all Lucania was recovered by the Romans. The Etruscans received assistance from the Samnites; but all was of no avail, for the Roman arms were victorious everywhere. One thing only alarmed the Romans, viz., a report that large bodies of Gauls, supported by the Etruscans and Umbrians, were coming southward. Incredible efforts were made to meet the threatening danger. At first the Romans suffered several reverses in Etruria, but the arrival of the consuls changed the course of events. A great battle was fought near *Sentinum*, in Umbria, which would have been lost, had not *Decius*, one of the consuls, caused himself and the hostile army to be devoted to the infernal gods. This self-sacrifice gave fresh spirit to the Romans, and enabled them to gain a brilliant victory. The Samnite army which had been sent to support the Etruscans, was cut to pieces, and 25,000 Gauls and Samnites covered the field of battle, while 8000 were made prisoners. Fabius then proceeded from Umbria into Etruria, where he gained another victory over the Etruscans near Perusia.

While these things were going on in the north of Italy, a Samnite army, which was ravaging Campania, is said to have been defeated with great loss by the Romans

returning from Sentinum. In the year B.C. 294, the Etruscan towns found it advisable to conclude peace with Rome. But the Samnites made most desperate efforts, and having called out all their men capable of bearing arms, invaded Campania. The Romans compelled them to return by attacking Samnium, from which they carried off a vast amount of booty. Upon this, the Samnites, under their brave and noble commander, *Pontius*, again invaded Campania. The Romans were at first unsuccessful; but in B.C. 292, the aged *Fabius Maximus* fought a fierce battle, which at once decided the contest between Rome and Samnium: 20,000 Samnites were killed, and 4000 made prisoners, one of whom was the brave Pontius. He was taken to Rome in triumph and beheaded—an act of base ingratitude towards a man who had saved the Roman army at *Caudium*. Hostilities, however, continued until B.C. 290, when the Samnites sued for peace, which was granted to them on condition of their acknowledging the supremacy of Rome. Soon afterwards, the Umbrians, Etruscans, and two Keltic tribes, the Senones and Boians, had to submit to the same terms. Rome had now acquired the dominion of the whole of Central Italy, the submission of which was secured as usual by the establishment of numerous colonies.

If we now turn our attention from these successful wars to the internal affairs of Rome, we find that during the same period she became internally more and more consolidated by the equalisation of the two orders, and that many useful works were executed in and about the city for the public convenience. In the year B.C. 312, the censor *Appius Claudius* made the famous Appian road, leading from Rome to Capua (it was afterwards continued to Brundisium), and the first aqueduct which supplied Rome with water. In the same year a kind of calendar was set up in public, informing the people on what days it was lawful to administer justice and to hold public meetings. A great constitutional change appears to have been made about the same time, by which the

comitia centuriata were combined with the *comitia tributa*, although the latter still continued to be convened separately as before. In B.C. 300, the tribune *Ogulnius* proposed and carried a law by which the number of pontiffs and augurs was increased to eight and nine respectively, and by which it was enacted that one-half of these priestly colleges should be taken from the plebeians. Henceforth all the public offices possessing political power were equally divided between patricians and plebeians. The agrarian law of Licinius Stolo was never repealed, but appears to have been repeatedly violated with impunity, and the distribution of public land among the poorer citizens was rarely resorted to, though many must have suffered greatly in consequence of the protracted wars at a distance from Rome. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, Rome was now entering upon a period of her history which may be regarded as the beginning of her golden age.

The peace which Rome enjoyed after the termination of the Samnite wars was interrupted by renewed attacks of the Gauls and Etruscans. The war against the former, beginning in B.C. 285, was brought to a close in B.C. 282 by the total subjugation of the Senones and Boii. The Etruscans continued in arms for a few years longer, but ultimately obtained a peace on very favourable terms, in consequence of which they made no further attempts to recover their independence, and seem to have enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity under the dominion of Rome.

Tarentum, a powerful commercial and manufacturing Greek city in the south of Italy, was looking with uneasiness upon the growing power of the Romans in the south. Like all commercial states, it chiefly relied upon mercenaries, and endeavoured to keep Rome engaged by inducing other nations to take up arms against her. Thus they are said to have instigated the Etruscans in their last contest. They even induced the Samnites to join in a coalition against the common enemy. The first act of hostility consisted in the Lucanians attacking Thurii, a

Greek city allied with Rome ; but the town was relieved by Caius Fabricius, in B.C. 282, who also gained other advantages over the southern confederates. As the Romans were obliged to keep up communication with Thurii by sea, they could not help violating the treaty with Tarentum, which forbade them to sail beyond Cape Lacinium. When, therefore, ten Roman ships were seen sailing towards the harbour of Tarentum, a Tarentine fleet immediately sailed out to attack them, and captured five of the Roman ships. The Tarentines even went so far as to compel Thurii to open its gates to them. The Roman senate, indignant at such proceedings, sent an embassy to remonstrate and demand reparation ; but the Tarentines treated the ambassadors with contempt and insult, so that war became unavoidable. The Tarentines had hoped to bring about a general coalition among the southern Italians ; but failing in this, they invited Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to come to their assistance.

Pyrrhus, whose mind was full of an adventurous and chivalrous spirit, gladly accepted the invitation in the hope of acquiring a great empire by adding Italy and Sicily to his dominions. When, in B.C. 281, he arrived with his forces at Tarentum, he at once set about drilling its citizens, and compelling them to submit to severe military discipline. It was this new danger which induced the Romans to conclude the final peace with the Etruscans on favourable terms, and they now sent out armies both against the Samnites and the Tarentines. The hostile forces met on the banks of the little river *Siris* ; and Pyrrhus, partly by means of his well-trained Macedonian soldiers, and partly by the terror inspired by his elephants, which the Romans had never seen employed in war, gained a decisive victory over his enemies. This first success induced many of the southern Italians openly to join Pyrrhus. But as he himself had sustained very severe losses in the battle, he sent his friend Cineas to Rome to offer peace. The Roman senate refused to listen to any proposals so long as Pyrrhus and his army remained in Italy. Upon this the king advanced north-

ward to the very neighbourhood of Rome, but finding that the Etruscans could no longer be calculated upon, he returned to Tarentum. In B.C. 279, the Roman consuls again met their enemy near *Asculum*, where Pyrrhus again won a great victory. But his losses were so great that he is reported to have said, "One more such victory, and I shall be undone." He expressed his admiration of the valour of the Romans by saying, "If I had such soldiers, the world would be mine."

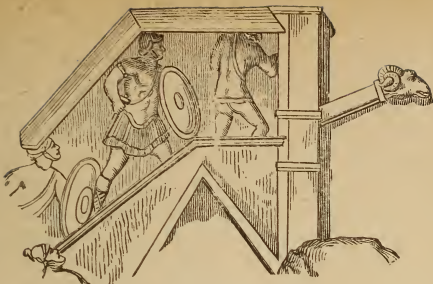
The Romans after these two defeats felt inclined to come to terms with Pyrrhus, but Appius Claudius most strenuously opposed such policy, so long as Pyrrhus refused to quit Italy. The king himself despaired of the Greeks of Southern Italy, while the Romans had filled him with admiration. In these circumstances he readily accepted an invitation of the Sicilian Greeks, who hoped with his assistance to drive the Carthaginians out of the island. A truce was accordingly concluded with Rome, and in B.C. 278 he proceeded to Sicily. The friends and allies he found there he soon discovered to be even less trustworthy than those of Italy, for nearly all his undertakings were thwarted by their faithless and treacherous disposition, in consequence of which he was led into several acts of cruelty. Finding at last that nothing great could be effected in the island, and that his Italian allies were hard pressed by the Romans during his absence, he returned to Italy after an absence of three years. Meanwhile the Romans had punished their revolted allies and subjects, and many a victory had been gained by them. On his arrival he recovered indeed several towns which had been lost, and then proceeded towards Beneventum, where the consul *Curius Dentatus* was encamped; but his army being no longer what it had been, was there so completely defeated, in B.C. 275, that he escaped to Tarentum with only a few horsemen. He had applied to some of the eastern powers for assistance, but as his request was not complied with, he at once resolved to quit Italy, leaving only a small garrison at Tarentum.

After his departure, the Tarentines concluded peace with the Romans, who, within the next few years, compelled the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, to do homage to the republic of Rome, which was now the virtual mistress of all Italy from the northern frontier of Etruria to the Straits of Sicily. The only nation which could not meekly submit to Rome were the Samnites, who, in B.C. 268, once more took up arms to defend their independence; but their fate was finally decided in the very first campaign.

The conquered nations were treated differently according as they had shown more or less hostility during the wars; but all had to recognise the supremacy of Rome, which, as usual, secured its conquests by the establishment of numerous colonies. As many of the southern Italians were good sailors and possessed fleets, Rome now was in a position to carry on wars with any nation beyond the sea, with which she might come in contact. She had now become one of the great states of the time, and might have limited herself to the dominion of Italy and united the whole of it into one compact state with free institutions. But circumstances soon occurred which rendered such a scheme, if it ever existed, a matter of impossibility.



A YOUNG ROMAN IN THE TOGA



ARIES, OR BATTERING-RAM.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF ALL ITALY DOWN TO THE OUT
BREAK OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

B.C. 272 TO B.C. 218.

IN the very first year of the republic, B.C. 509, Rome had concluded a commercial treaty with the wealthy city of *Carthage*, a Phœnician colony on the north coast of Africa. The same treaty had been twice renewed, and the relation between the two republics had always been of an amicable kind, but during the conquests of the Romans in Southern Italy the Carthaginians seem to have become apprehensive of the growing power of Rome. When Pyrrhus was in Sicily with the avowed object of driving the Carthaginians from the island, they concluded a defensive alliance with Rome which was directed against their common enemy, although in the war against him they never united their forces. When Pyrrhus withdrew from Sicily, the island fell into a complete state of anarchy; and a body of Campanian mercenaries, called *Mamertines*, ravaged the country and took forcible possession of *Messana*, where they murdered or expelled the male population, and distributed their property as well as their wives and children among themselves. The Syracusans, under the command of their King Hiero, attacked these lawless

marauders, and reduced them to such straits as to oblige them to look about for foreign assistance. One party thought of calling in the aid of the Carthaginians, who had already offered their assistance, and took possession of the citadel of Messina ; but the majority solicited the assistance of Rome. Six years before this, the Romans had most severely punished a body of Campanian mercenaries, who had acted at Rhegium in the same manner as the Mamertines had done at Messina. The better part of the Roman senate therefore seem to have felt that it would be scarcely decent to support such a band of robbers as the Mamertines. The matter was, however, referred to the popular assembly, with whom the love of war and conquest stifled every other feeling. An alliance was accordingly concluded with the Mamertines ; and Hiero, finding himself powerless against them, made his peace with them. Every pretext for Roman interference was thus removed, but the opportunity of making war against Carthage was too tempting, and a message was sent to Messina to inform the Mamertines that Rome was ready to deliver them from the Carthaginians. A fleet furnished by the Greek maritime towns of Southern Italy sailed across from Rhegium, and on its arrival the Carthaginian commander of Messina treacherously surrendered the citadel to the Romans. The Carthaginians, however, demanded that the Romans should quit Sicily, and as this was refused, they, supported by King Hiero, laid siege to Messina. Meanwhile fresh legions arrived in Sicily, and defeated Hiero before he could obtain assistance from his allies. Hereupon Hiero withdrew to Syracuse, and in B.C. 263 concluded a peace with the Romans, to whom ever after he remained a most faithful friend. The Carthaginians being likewise beaten, dispersed among their subject towns in the western parts of the island.

The Romans are said to have been enormously successful in Sicily, and sixty-seven towns are reported to have surrendered to them. As the Carthaginians did not make any stand against the invaders, the conquest of the

whole island seemed to be a matter of no great difficulty. But in B.C. 262, the Romans found that Agrigentum, which they were besieging, was not so easily conquered, for it took them seven months to compel the city to surrender. Its numerous Carthaginian garrison escaped, but the city had to endure all the horrors of a place taken by the sword. As Carthage with its powerful fleet was the undisputed mistress of the sea, the Roman senate ordered a fleet to be built in all haste after the model of a Carthaginian ship, which had been wrecked on the coast of Bruttium. The command of this fleet was entrusted, in B.C. 260, to *Caius Duilius*, and in the ensuing engagement off Mylæ, he changed the naval battle into a sort of land fight by means of boarding bridges thrown upon the enemy's ships. Although the Romans had hitherto had no experience in maritime warfare, their victory, partly owing to their extraordinary contrivance, was so complete, that the Carthaginians were obliged to take to flight, having lost about 10,000 men in killed and wounded. The Romans afterwards honoured Duilius, by erecting to him a column adorned with the beaks of captured ships, and with an inscription recording the details of his victory. Elated by their first success at sea, they determined to drive the Carthaginians from all their insular possessions in the west of the Mediterranean, and expeditions were at once undertaken against Sardinia and Corsica. The operations in Sicily were in the meantime carried on with less vigour, whereby the Carthaginians were enabled to gain some advantages; but in B.C. 258 the consul *Atilius Calatinus* restored the honour of the Roman arms; and the town of Myttistratum, which had been besieged by the Romans for some time, was now abandoned by its garrison, and fell into their hands. The same was the case with several other towns.

But although the Romans were thus far successful, one-half of Sicily was still occupied by the Carthaginians.

In B.C. 256, the Romans resolved to carry the war into Africa; with immense exertions they prepared a fleet of

330 ships, which, under the command of *Manlius* and *Atilius Regulus*, were to steer towards the African coast. Near Ecnomus, the Romans were met by a still larger fleet of the Carthaginians, and a fearful battle ensued, in which the Carthaginians were so completely defeated, that they felt induced to make offers of peace. These offers, however, were rejected, and the Roman fleet, proceeding to Africa, landed near Clupea, which, being deserted by its inhabitants, was occupied by the Romans as their headquarters. The country was ravaged by the invaders in all directions, and when at the close of the year *Manlius* returned to Italy with a portion of the army, and a large number of prisoners, *Regulus* with his diminished forces began the campaign of B.C. 255, by besieging the town of *Adis*, and it is said that both this and many other towns submitted to him. The Carthaginians were so much reduced as to be obliged to retreat within the walls of their own city. In this distress, they sent to *Regulus* to sue for peace, but, though he might now have concluded the war in an honourable manner, he proposed such humiliating terms, that the Carthaginians resolved to die sword in hand rather than submit to the insolence of their enemy.

In these circumstances, Carthage was fortunate in securing the services of one of those Greek soldiers, who at that time offered their services to any one who chose to employ them. This was the Spartan *Xanthippus*, to whom they at once entrusted the command of their forces. He set about increasing and reorganising the army, and by improving their discipline, inspired the men with fresh confidence. In his first encounter with the Romans, he routed and dispersed the whole Roman army, and *Regulus* himself with 500 men was taken prisoner. About 2000 escaped to Clupea, where they defended themselves bravely. The Roman fleet which came to their rescue gained a brilliant victory over the Carthaginians and rescued them. But the same fleet, on its return to Sicily, was overtaken by a storm in which most of the ships were wrecked, and the south coast of

Sicily was covered with corpses and the fragments of the ships. This inspired the Carthaginians with fresh courage; but the Romans also, far from being disheartened, in B.C. 254, prepared a new fleet of 220 ships, with which they sailed to Sicily, and took several towns, while others surrendered of their own accord. But still as their progress was slow, they again sailed to Africa and laid waste its coast districts. On its return to Sicily, when they had just come in sight of Cape Palinurus, a violent storm overtook the fleet, and no less than 150 ships were wrecked. This second disaster at sea discouraged the Romans to such a degree, that they resolved henceforth to keep no more ships than were necessary to protect Italy and convey troops to Sicily.

The Romans, notwithstanding, continued to make progress during the following years, and succeeded in confining the Carthaginians to the western corner of Sicily. In B.C. 250 the Roman consul *Cæcilius* defeated the Carthaginians in a great battle near Panormus, which was the last great battle that was fought in this war. Having lost all their possessions in Sicily with the exception of the two fortresses of Lilybæum and Drepana, the Carthaginians were desirous of peace and to obtain an exchange of prisoners. They accordingly sent *Regulus*, who was still in captivity among them, to Rome for the purpose of proposing terms of peace, or at least to effect an exchange of prisoners. But *Regulus*, instead of fulfilling the duties of his mission, persuaded the senate to enter into no negotiations, and to continue the war. The Romans, notwithstanding their previous resolution, again built a fleet of 200 ships and began the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted for a long time. In B.C. 249, the Romans, under their haughty and presumptuous commander *Appius Claudius*, were defeated both by land and by sea, in the neighbourhood of Drepana, and the Carthaginians followed up their victory with great vigour. About the same time a vast number of Roman transports were destroyed in a storm, and those which escaped fell into the hands of the enemy. After this disaster, the Romans

again renounced the sea, of which the Carthaginians were now again the undisputed masters. Carthage, moreover, had now the good fortune of having for its military chief the great *Hamilcar*, the father of Hannibal, who, in B.C. 247, undertook the command of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. After some ravaging descents on the coast of Italy, he took up a strong position on Mount Hercte, whence he did incalculable damage to his enemies by frequent sallies. Afterwards he took up a similar position on Mount Eryx, whence he continued to harass the Romans, although he himself was surrounded by all manner of difficulties.

In this way the war was carried on without any decisive advantage being gained by either party. The Romans, having come to the conviction that the war could not be brought to a close without some extraordinary exertion, once more resolved, in B.C. 242, to build a new fleet. But as the treasury lacked the funds necessary for such an undertaking, the money was furnished by wealthy and patriotic citizens. An armada of 200 ships, commanded by *Lutatius Catulus*, having first made an unsuccessful attack upon Drepana, resolved to offer battle to the Carthaginian fleet. The latter, containing a large number of transports, was unable to cope with that of the Romans, and was easily and completely defeated; sixty-three of the enemy's ships were taken, one hundred and twenty were sunk, and the number of killed and prisoners was immense. This decisive victory was gained in B.C. 241, off the Ægatian islands. The Carthaginians were now compelled to sue for peace, which they obtained on the following conditions: that they should evacuate Sicily and the islands between it and Carthage, that they should abstain from war against Hiero and his allies, that they should restore all Roman prisoners without ransom, and pay 2300 talents in ten yearly instalments.

Thus terminated the First Punic War, which had been carried on by both parties with incredible efforts and losses, and Sicily was the first country out of Italy conquered by the Romans. The island was treated differently from the conquests hitherto made in Italy—it be-

came a *Roman province*, that is, a country governed by a Roman prætor or pro-consul, who was sent out every year with supreme civil and military powers, and was assisted in the administration by a quæstor or treasurer. The revenues derived from a province were not levied by government officials, but were farmed by wealthy capitalists (*publicani*) or companies of them. The Sicilian towns and cities were not all treated in the same way, and a difference was made according to the degree of hostility they had shown in the war preceding the conquest. Thus in Sicily the kingdom of Hiero and several other towns remained perfectly free and independent. It is very remarkable that during the long period of the war with Carthage the Italian nations remained tranquil, and no attempt was made to shake off the yoke of Rome.

After the termination of the war, Carthage found herself in the greatest distress, and not being able to pay her mercenaries, they rose in open rebellion against her. This led to a war between Carthage and the rebellious soldiery which lasted upwards of three years, and was carried on by both parties with unexampled cruelty. The great Hamilcar at last succeeded in defeating the rebels. During this conflict the Romans behaved honourably towards their vanquished enemy, for they not only refused to countenance the rebels, but protected the transports of provisions destined for Carthage. But they changed their policy when the mercenaries in Sardinia likewise revolted; for when they applied to Rome for assistance, they eagerly seized the opportunity of taking possession of the island, B.C. 238. When Carthage remonstrated with them for this arbitrary proceeding, the Romans, with flagrant injustice, not only refused to listen to their demands, but took possession of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and demanded of Carthage the additional sum of 1200 talents. Carthage was too much exhausted to offer any resistance, but treasured up her indignation for a more convenient time, and Hamilcar at once began to make preparations to indemnify his country and to gain the means of avenging the wrong done to it.

The Romans, after taking possession of Corsica and Sardinia, found the natives less inclined to bear their yoke, than they had borne that of the Carthaginians, and accordingly became involved in long and tedious wars with them. About the same time they had to contend against the Ligurians and Boians, in the north of Italy; and while they were still engaged in these troublesome wars, another struggle was commenced, in B.C. 229, against the pirates of Illyricum, who were then governed by Queen Teuta, and were a scourge to the maritime towns of Greece. The Romans had no difficulty in conquering the semi-barbarous pirates, and several of the Greek places, such as Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia placed themselves under the protection of Rome, which thus, for the first time, gained a footing on the continent of Greece. Even Athens and Corinth showed their gratitude to the Romans by conferring certain distinctions upon them.

But such wars as these against the Ligurians and Boians were trifling compared with that which burst upon the Romans about the same time from the north. The Boians, wincing under their subjection to Rome, and vexed that a portion of their territory which had become Roman domain land, had been given to Roman citizens by an agrarian law, invited other Gauls to join them in a fresh war against Rome. Even Gauls from beyond the Alps were induced to assist the Boians. In B.C. 226, formidable hosts of Gauls came across the Alps, and as they moved southward, the Romans were panic-stricken, for the barbarians devastated everything by fire and sword; but when they had advanced as far as Clusium they met the Romans, whom they nearly surrounded and annihilated. However, the Romans gained a decisive victory over the invaders near Telamon on the coast of Etruria, in which 40,000 Gauls are said to have been killed and 10,000 taken prisoners. This was the most memorable success the Romans had ever met with against the Gauls, and in consequence of it the Boians, in the year after the battle, B.C. 224, were forced to submit,

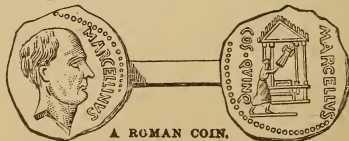
and the Romans for the first time crossed over to the northern banks of the Po, where, in the year B.C. 223, the consul Caius Flaminius fought a successful battle against the Insubrians. This war against the Gauls was brought to a close in B.C. 222 by *Claudius Marcellus* in the battle of Clastidium, where he slew the Gallic chief Viridomarus with his own hand. A peace was then concluded, in which the Gauls had to recognise the supremacy of Rome, and by which Rome acquired the extensive and fertile plains of Lombardy, which they endeavoured to secure by the establishment of the colonies of Placentia and Cremona.

While the Roman arms were thus engaged in the north of Italy, the Illyrians, instigated by Demetrius of Pharos, had renewed their piratical practices. But the consul *Æmilius Paulus*, in B.C. 219, finally stopped their proceedings by subduing the whole of Illyricum. Demetrius, however, escaped to the court of Philip, king of Macedonia, who had already been jealously watching the influence which the Romans had gained in the affairs of Greece.

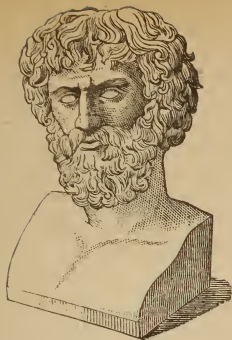
After the loss of the islands in the Mediterranean, the Carthaginians, guided by the wise counsels of their great general *Hamilcar*, endeavoured to indemnify themselves by making conquests and forming a new empire in Spain, and by a wise moderation and kind treatment *Hamilcar* succeeded in winning the affection of many of the natives. After some years of successful operations, he was killed in a battle, B.C. 229, leaving the command of his army to *Hasdrubal*, his son-in-law, who continued the policy of his predecessor, and founded the town of New Carthage. The progress made by the Carthaginians in Spain somewhat alarmed the Romans, and in a treaty which they concluded with *Hasdrubal*, but which was never sanctioned by the government at Carthage, it was stipulated that the Carthaginians should not carry their conquests beyond the river Iberus. *Hasdrubal* was murdered in B.C. 221, and was succeeded in the command of the army by the great *Hannibal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, who, when only nine years old, had accompanied his father into

Spain and was trained under his immediate guidance. He is said even at that early age to have sworn eternal enmity to the Romans.

Immediately after undertaking the command of the army he continued the conquest begun by his predecessors, and subdued Spain as far as the river Iberus with the exception of the town of Saguntum, which is said to have been allied with Rome. Some disputes between that town and its neighbours afforded him an opportunity of commencing hostilities against it, and in B.C. 219 he proceeded to besiege the place. When Roman ambassadors called upon him to abstain from hostilities against the town, he referred them to the senate at Carthage. But there the ambassadors were equally unsuccessful, for although the aristocratic party wished to maintain peace with Rome under all circumstances, the popular party and the friends of Hannibal refused to take their great general to account or to recall him. Fabius, the spokesman of the embassy, then making a fold of his toga, said, "Here I bring you peace and war: take whichever you please." When the Carthaginians replied, "Give us whichever you please," he replied, "Well, then, I offer you war." This settled the question, and war was declared at once. In the meantime the Saguntines defended themselves most bravely against the besiegers, but after eight months of a most heroic resistance, the town was taken and destroyed. The inhabitants were partly buried under the ruins of their own houses, and partly killed themselves by leaping into the fire which they had kindled in the market place to destroy their remaining property. All the survivors were put to the sword. This war against Saguntum was only a prelude to the Second Punic War, which was carried on in Italy and brought to a close in Africa.



A ROMAN COIN.



HANNIBAL.

CHAPTER VI.

**FROM THE SECOND PUNIC WAR DOWN TO THE END OF THE
WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS.**

B.C. 218 TO B.C. 188.

WHEN the Romans declared war against Carthage, they had only just brought to a close that against the Gauls, and were still engaged in Illyricum, whence they were unable to act with that decision and quickness which they usually displayed. Hannibal assembled his troops at New Carthage, and leaving the command in Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, proceeded in the spring of B.C. 218 to the river Iberus, which he crossed with an army of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. When he reached the Pyrenees, he gave leave to all those who felt disinclined to accompany him on his great expedition to return home. Large numbers availed themselves of this permission, and his forces were reduced to 50,000 foot and 9000 horse, but all were men determined to follow their great chief. On his march through Gaul he met with little or no opposition until he reached the river Rhone, the passage of which he had to force against hosts of Gauls drawn up on the opposite bank. When this

was effected, he began his memorable march up the Alps, which he crossed by the Little St Bernard amid indescribable and overwhelming difficulties. When he descended on the south side of the Alps, his forces were reduced to 20,000 foot and 6000 horse. The passage of the Alps had been effected in fifteen days, and his arrival in Italy was hailed by the Gauls who hoped that he would deliver them from the detested yoke of Rome.

Meanwhile the Romans, on hearing of Hannibal's design to march across the Alps, had sent the consul *Publius Cornelius Scipio* with an army and fleet into Gaul, while his colleague, Sempronius Longus, proceeded with another army to Sicily. When Scipio arrived in Gaul, Hannibal had already crossed the Rhone, and, after a trifling engagement with a detachment of Hannibal's cavalry, he returned to Italy, where he arrived on the banks of the Po, when Hannibal had already descended from the Alps. The hostile armies first met on the river *Ticinus*, where Scipio was severely wounded, and afterwards on the river *Trebia*. In both of these places the Romans were defeated, and as the approach of winter put an end to further military operations, Hannibal remained in Lombardy. In the beginning of spring B.C. 217 he crossed the Appenines, and on the banks of Lake *Trasimenus* he was met by the consul Caius Flaminius, who intended to defend the road to Rome. A terrible battle was fought there on a foggy morning in which 15,000 Romans perished. The consul himself was among the slain, and a detachment which had been sent to his assistance was likewise cut to pieces. Hannibal had hoped by treating the Italians kindly to win them over to his side, but the Italian allies, and especially the Roman colonies, remained faithful; and when immediately after the battle of Lake Trasimenus he attacked Spolegium, he met with a determined resistance, and thus finding that he had miscalculated, he abandoned the place and marched along the eastern coast of Italy towards Apulia in the hope of stirring up the southern Italians against their Roman rulers.

The disaster of Lake Trasimenus had thrown Rome into a state of the greatest consternation. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Cunctator* (the Slack), was at once appointed dictator, it being feared that the enemy would march straightway to Rome. Fabius finding that Hannibal had taken a different road, followed him as closely as he could with safety, and avoiding any decisive engagement, contrived to gain several smaller advantages. In the neighbourhood of Casilinum, Hannibal, through some mistake of his guide, was placed in so difficult a position that he extricated himself only by a stratagem : he ordered bundles of brushwood to be fastened to the horns of 2000 oxen, which were then driven in the night with the faggots in a blaze towards the Romans, who, terrified by the sight, abandoned their favourable position, and thereby enabled the enemy to escape. Hannibal spent the following winter in Apulia, greatly disappointed that none of the subjects of Rome had yet joined him. The Romans, dissatisfied with what they believed to be cowardice or unnecessary caution of Fabius, gave the consulship of the year B.C. 216 to *Terentius Varro* and *Æmilius Paulus*. The character of the former was the very opposite of that of Fabius, and the Romans expected that the consuls would put an end to the war at one blow. They proceeded to Apulia with a large army of 80,000 foot, and 6000 horse, and pitched their camp near the little town of *Cannæ*. The terrible defeat they suffered there showed, though too late, how wisely Fabius had acted, for no less than 47,000 Romans covered the field of battle, and the consul *Æmilius Paulus* and eighty senators were among the slain. Varro escaped with a few horsemen to Venusia.

Four battles had now been lost, but Rome, though humbled, did not despond, and proposals for peace or ransoming the prisoners were indignantly rejected. Hannibal, proceeding to Capua, was now joined by a number of Italians, who despaired of the fate of Rome ; and Capua, one of the wealthiest cities of Italy, which had been treated by the Romans with great favour, openly declared

for Hannibal. In that city he took up his winter quarters, and it is very remarkable that, although he had now gained numerous Italian allies and had received reinforcements from Africa, he gained no more great victories. The Romans made every effort to raise fresh troops, and even enlisted a body of 8000 slaves. In B.C. 215, commanded by Claudius Marcellus, they inflicted a severe blow upon Hannibal at Nola, and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus gained other advantages near Beneventum. Encouraged by these successes, they now laid siege to Capua, which Hannibal had abandoned. When, however, he found that the city was in danger, he advanced to its relief; but as the Romans declined a battle, he marched towards Rome and pitched his camp near its very gates. A portion of the army besieging Capua was despatched against him and offered battle; but Hannibal, for reasons not mentioned, contented himself with ravaging the country, and returned to the south of Italy.

Meanwhile King Hiero, the faithful ally of Rome, had died, and his successors entered into an alliance with Hannibal. In consequence of this, the Romans, in B.C. 214, sent *Claudius Marcellus* into Sicily, who at once laid siege to Syracuse. This siege lasted for two years, at the end of which the city was delivered up to the Romans by treachery. The Syracusans, assisted by the mechanical skill of the great mathematician *Archimedes*, defended themselves most gallantly, but were punished most severely by their conquerors. The splendour of Syracuse was destroyed for ever, and Archimedes was murdered while engaged in his scientific pursuits. All Sicily again fell into the hands of the Romans, and Hannibal endeavoured to indemnify himself by the conquest of Tarentum and some other places in Southern Italy. In the year 211, Capua was also retaken by the Romans, and its inhabitants were treated with wanton cruelty; twenty-seven senators committed suicide, and others killed their wives and children to save them from the insolence of the conquerors. Two years later Tarentum was recovered by *Fabius Maximus*. The treatment inflicted on Syracuse

and Capua so much frightened the Italian Greeks that they thought it prudent to abandon their connection with Hannibal, whose only hope now rested on the succours which he expected from his brother Hasdrubal.

At the very commencement of the war in B.C. 218, the two brothers *Cneius* and *Publius Cornelius Scipio* had proceeded to Spain to operate against Hasdrubal, and for several years they harassed and checked his progress. At the same time they entered into negotiations with the African chief *Syphax* to attack Carthage itself. But in B.C. 212 both brothers fell in battle within thirty days of each other, and their armies were completely routed. Hasdrubal now formed the plan of joining his brother in Italy with fresh forces. The disasters suffered in Spain were so discouraging to the Romans that no one was willing to undertake the command of a new army there, until young *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, the son of one of the two Scipios who had fallen in Spain, though only twenty-four years old, offered to undertake the perilous task. On his arrival in Spain, in B.C. 211, affairs at once took a different turn, and in his second campaign he took New Carthage, the most important town of the Carthaginians. By his kindness and gentleness he attached the Spaniards to himself, and his popularity soon eclipsed that of Hasdrubal, who was defeated in B.C. 209 in a great battle near Bæcula. But Hasdrubal, notwithstanding this discomfiture, at length resolved to join his brother in Italy. In B.C. 207 he crossed the Alps and marched through the eastern part of Italy to meet his brother in Apulia. But on reaching the river Metaurus he met the consul Claudius Nero, who attacked him by night, while attempting to cross the river. Hasdrubal himself was killed, and his army entirely cut to pieces. A Roman soldier cut off his head, and when the army returned to Apulia, flung it into the camp of Hannibal. This was the first and only intelligence that Hannibal received of his brother's arrival and defeat.

After this, Hannibal confined himself to a defensive attitude in Bruttium, which still remained faithful to him.

He there maintained himself with the greatest boldness and heroism for several years, and whoever attacked him had to pay dearly for it. After Hasdrubal's departure from Spain, the Carthaginians, no longer able to cope with Scipio, were gradually driven out of the country, and the whole of the southern part of the peninsula was conquered by the Romans. Scipio remained in Spain for several years, and having concluded a treaty with Syphax, he returned to Rome, where, notwithstanding his youth, he was elected consul for the year B.C. 205. He at once proposed to attack Carthage in Africa; but the cautious senate, considering this somewhat presumptuous, assigned to him Sicily as his province, with permission to proceed to Africa, if he thought it advantageous to his country. The means placed at his disposal were very insufficient, but the enthusiasm all over Italy was so great, that he was plentifully provided with all he needed by voluntary contributions.

When everything was prepared, Scipio, in B.C. 204, crossed over into Africa. Syphax treacherously joined the Carthaginians, but the Romans were amply compensated by being joined by the Numidian king, Masinissa. With his assistance Scipio burned the camp of Syphax and his allies, among whom great havoc was made. The last hope of Carthage now rested on Hannibal, who was forthwith summoned to return home. He arrived there in B.C. 202, and soon after had an interview with Scipio, at which both were inclined to come to terms. But the people of Carthage, elated by the presence of their great general, resolved once more to try the fortune of war. The battle of *Zama*, in B.C. 202, at last decided the contest between the two nations. The Carthaginians, though fighting most bravely, lost the day, and the greater part of their army was destroyed. Hannibal himself escaped to Carthage with only a few followers, and advised the people to submit to necessity and accept the terms offered by Scipio. The advice was followed, and Carthage had to surrender all Roman deserters and prisoners without ransom, to give up its whole fleet with the exception of

ten ships, to promise to abstain from war with any foreign state without the sanction of Rome, to pay the sum of 10,000 talents by fifty yearly instalments, and to indemnify Masinissa for the losses he had sustained. The peace was ratified at Rome the year after, and Scipio, who celebrated a splendid triumph, was honoured with the surname of Africanus.

After the conclusion of this peace, Hannibal remained at Carthage doing all he could to repair the losses which his country had sustained, by wise reforms. But the Romans, ever afraid of his influence, contrived to undermine his authority, so that at last even his own countrymen began to lose confidence in him, and the greatest general and statesman that Carthage ever had, was obliged, in B.C. 196, to quit his country as an exile. He proceeded to the court of *Antiochus*, king of Syria, whom he endeavoured to inspire with his unquenchable hatred of the Romans. The gains which Rome had made during the Second Punic War were very great, notwithstanding the battles they had lost and the devastations to which Italy had been exposed, for the southern part of Spain was conquered, and Carthage and Numidia were virtually in a state of dependence on Rome.

We have seen that *Philip*, king of Macedonia, had become uneasy at the influence which Rome after the Illyrian wars had acquired in the affairs of Greece. Demetrius of Pharos did his best to increase this feeling; and after the battle of Cannæ, when Rome seemed to be finally crushed, Philip concluded a treaty with Hannibal, in which the countries on the east of the Adriatic were promised to Philip, while Carthage was to rule over the countries west of the Adriatic. But the document containing the treaty fell into the hands of the Romans, who at once adopted measures to prevent the Macedonian from sending assistance to Hannibal. A petty war was thus carried on from B.C. 215 to 205, during which neither the Romans nor the Macedonians gained any great advantages. A peace was then concluded, though neither party intended to keep it; and Rome especially, being unable to carry on

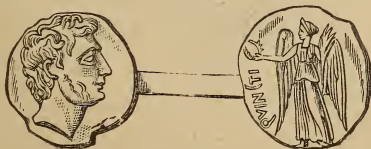
another war so long as Hannibal was in Italy, only wanted to gain time.

A second war against Macedonia broke out in B.C. 200, because Philip had ravaged the territory of Athens, which was in alliance with Rome. This war was at first carried on by the Romans with little energy, and Philip, supported by many of the Greeks, was favoured by fortune; but in B.C. 198, when *Quinctius Flaminius* undertook the command and boldly entered the enemy's country, things assumed a different aspect. Philip was completely beaten in the battle of *Cynoscephalæ*, and obliged to sue for peace, in which he had to recognise the independence of Greece, to give up a great part of his fleet, to pay a large sum of money, and to give hostages as a security for his future conduct. This peace was ratified in B.C. 197, and in the year following, Flaminius, to the intense delight of the Greeks assembled at the Isthmian games, proclaimed the freedom and independence of their country.

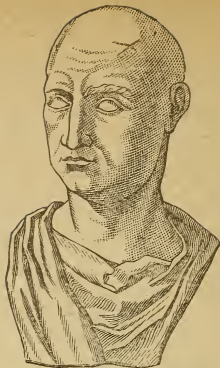
The enthusiasm of the Greeks for their liberators, however, soon subsided, for they made the discovery that what was called their freedom, was in reality only a change of masters. The *Ætolians*, who had fought on the side of the Romans against Macedonia, not considering themselves sufficiently rewarded for their services, invited *Antiochus* of Syria to wage war against the Romans. Their endeavours were seconded by Hannibal. Antiochus, who also felt himself personally aggrieved by the demand of the Romans to restore to independence the Greek states of Asia Minor, readily accepted the proposal, and in B.C. 192 crossed over with an army into Europe. But instead of following the advice of Hannibal, to ally himself with Philip and attack the Romans in Italy, he offended Philip and wasted his time in frivolous amusements in Eubœa, while the Romans rapidly advanced into Thessaly. Commanded by *Acilius Glabrio*, in B.C. 191 they met Antiochus and the *Ætolians* at *Thermopylæ*, where they put their enemies to flight without any great effort, and Antiochus himself hastily fled back into Asia.

The Ætolians asked and obtained peace, as the Romans were anxious to leave no enemy in their rear, while continuing the war against Antiochus.

The year after the battle of Thermopylæ, a Roman army of 20,000 men, under the command of Caius Lælius and Lucius Cornelius Scipio (who was accompanied by his brother Africanus), proceeded to Asia. As Antiochus refused to accept the terms offered by the Romans, a great battle was fought near Magnesia, in which the hosts of Asiatics were easily overpowered by the Roman legions. Antiochus then fled to Syria and sued for peace, which was granted to him on condition that he should give up all his possessions in Asia west of Mount Taurus, and all his ships of war, and pay a large sum of money as a war indemnity. He was further requested to deliver up Hannibal. The peace was not ratified at Rome until B.C. 188. The countries thus ceded by Antiochus were distributed among the allies at Rome, for the time had not yet come when it was thought desirable to constitute them as Roman provinces. Hannibal, finding that his life was not safe in Syria, sought the protection of Prusias, king of Bithynia; but here too the Romans pursued him, and as Prusias was unable to protect him any longer, Hannibal put an end to his life by poison, B.C. 183. His conqueror, Scipio Africanus, died about the same time; he too had spent the last years of his life in a kind of exile, into which he had been driven partly by the jealousy of his enemies and partly by his own insolent and overbearing conduct.



FLAMININUS.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE PEACE WITH ANTIOCHUS DOWN TO THE TIME
OF THE GRACCHI.

B.C. 188 TO B.C. 133.

WHILE these things were going on in the East, the peace of Italy had been disturbed by the insurrection of some of the Keltic tribes in the north, which continued their hostilities from B.C. 200 until B.C. 181, when the Kelts were finally compelled to submit to Rome. During this war the Boians seem to have been completely extirpated. In Spain, where the faithlessness of the Romans often drove the people into rebellion, they had to maintain their power sword in hand. A great war broke out there in B.C. 181, which continued to rage till B.C. 179, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus concluded a peace on fair and honourable terms, which was long and gratefully remembered by the Spaniards.

Philip of Macedonia had indeed assisted the Romans in their war against Antiochus, but his hatred against them was as strong as ever. He died in B.C. 179, and his

successor, *Perseus*, at once began to make preparations for a fresh conflict with Rome, for which his father had left him ample means. When the last war against Rome broke out, in B.C. 171, *Perseus*, in consequence of his unwillingness to part with his treasures, lost some of his valuable allies. Although, therefore, he had gained at first some small advantages, he was totally defeated in B.C. 168 in the great battle of *Pydna*, by *Æmilius Paulus*. The king, with his children, friends, and treasures, fell into the hands of the Romans, and had to adorn the triumph of his conqueror. Macedonia was now made tributary to Rome, and in order to break its strength, the country was divided into four districts independent of one another.

Shortly after the battle of *Pydna*, one thousand of the most distinguished Achæans, accused of having secretly supported *Perseus*, were sent to Italy to be tried. But instead of having an opportunity afforded them for clearing themselves of the charge, they were kept as hostages and prisoners in various towns of Italy. After spending seventeen years in this manner, and when their number was reduced to three hundred, they were permitted to return to their country, without any trial having taken place. The island of Rhodes, against which a similar charge was brought, lost its Asiatic possessions, and had to recognise the supremacy of Rome. In the year B.C. 149, *Andriscus*, a runaway slave, pretending to be a son of the late king *Perseus*, came forward claiming the throne of Macedonia. As just at that time a third war against Carthage was breaking out, the Macedonians, thinking it a favourable opportunity of recovering their independence, flocked round the standard of the pretender. But *Cæcilius Metellus* crushed him and his followers in a battle near *Pydna*, B.C. 148, and a few years later Macedonia was constituted as a Roman province.

While *Metellus* was still engaged in settling the affairs of Macedonia, the Romans sent an embassy to Greece calling upon the Achæans to dismiss Sparta and some other cities from their league. When the ambassadors communicated this order to the Achæans assembled at

Korinth, they were treated with insult, and there remained nothing but to compel the light-headed Greeks by force. In B.C. 147, Metellus, after having made the necessary arrangements in Macedonia, proceeded southward with his army, and defeated the Achæans in two battles. He himself, having a great affection for the Greeks, did all he could to prevent them engaging in a contest with Rome. But his term of office was coming to a close, and he was obliged to hand over the command of the army to the rude soldier *Lucius Mummius*, who, after defeating the Greeks in a battle on the Isthmus, took and destroyed the wealthy and splendid city of Korinth, B.C. 146. Its inhabitants were either put to the sword or sold as slaves, and the numerous treasures of art were wantonly destroyed or carried to Rome to adorn the villas and palaces of the aristocracy. But it was not only Korinth that suffered, for Mummius and his soldiery traversed Peloponnesus, spreading desolation everywhere. Under the oppressive rule of the Romans the prosperity of many once flourishing cities died away, and with it patriotism and the love of liberty gradually vanished. The Spartans continued to indulge their warlike propensities by selling their services to any foreign state that needed them, while the Athenians were valued by their conquerors chiefly as scholars, artists, poets, actors, or dancers, though they rarely gained their esteem and respect.

After the close of the Second Punic War, Carthage during a period of upwards of fifty years had to some extent recovered its former prosperity by industry, commerce, and agriculture. But as this prosperity increased, so also did the hatred and jealousy of Rome; and Masinissa, the neighbour of Carthage, at the instigation of the Romans, neglected no opportunity of harassing and annoying the reviving state. One Roman in particular, Cato, under the influence of a blind and infatuated hatred of Carthage, insisted in every speech he made in the senate upon the necessity of destroying Carthage. Masinissa, knowing that he might with impunity act towards Carthage in any manner he pleased, drove the unfortunate

city into the necessity of defending its rights by force of arms. Upon this the Romans accused Carthage of having violated the peace. The Carthaginians, feeling the impossibility of successfully coping with Rome, assured the ambassadors that they had no hostile intentions, and not only sent three hundred of their noblest citizens as hostages to Rome, but offered to deliver up all their ships and arms. This happened in B.C. 149, and when all this was done, the Romans further demanded, that the Carthaginians should raze their own city to the ground and build a new one at a great distance from the sea. This insolent demand drove the people to madness and despair, and they resolved to perish amid the ruins of their own homes rather than yield to such flagrant insolence. All were seized with a bold patriotic spirit, and persons of all ranks and ages, women as well as men, cheerfully sacrificed all they possessed upon the altar of their country. The whole city was at once changed into a military camp, and nothing was spared that might serve to deliver the country from its impending doom. Such a spirit was too much even for the Roman legions, whose attacks upon the city were repeatedly repulsed. At last the Romans appointed *Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus*, a young man who had already given evidence of great military talent, to the consulship for the year B.C. 147. But even he was unable to overcome the desperate resistance of the Carthaginians, for although they suffered from the most terrible famine, they defended every inch of ground, even after the enemy had entered the city. The battle which raged in the streets lasted for six days, after which the fury of the invaders and a fearful conflagration changed the once proud mistress of the Mediterranean into a heap of ruins. Fifty thousand of its inhabitants who escaped from the massacre were sold as slaves; and Scipio, like his great namesake, was honoured with the surname of *Africanus*. The territory of Carthage was changed into a Roman province under the name of *Africa*, and a curse was pronounced upon the site of the ancient city, so that it should never be rebuilt.

Rome had now virtually become the mistress of all the countries around the Mediterranean, for the few states, such as Numidia, Egypt, and Pergamus, only enjoyed a nominal independence. But great as was the outward prosperity of the republic, at home matters were in a very different state, for while the upper classes had acquired the means of indulging in every kind of foreign luxury, a large class of Roman citizens was falling more and more into abject poverty. The political constitution of Rome had been finally settled long ago, the patricians and plebeians had long since been placed upon a footing of perfect equality; but a new aristocracy, called *nobiles* or *optimates* had gradually arisen, and though not recognised by law, based its claims upon wealth and family honours, that is, those who could boast of ancestors that had been invested with the great offices of the republic, looked upon themselves as entitled to the same honours, while those who had no such ancestors to boast of, were called obscure persons (*obscuri*); and if any such person succeeded in raising himself to any high office, which very rarely happened, he was stigmatised as an upstart (*novus homo*). The consequence of this was, that henceforth the struggle lay between the rich and the poor, that is, between those who possessed all the material and political powers, and those who possessed neither, but had to struggle hard to obtain the means of living.

Even before the conquest of Macedonia and Greece, the intellectual superiority of the latter had already shown its influence in all the departments of public and private life. Ever since the time of the Tarquins, Greek gods and Greek forms of worship had gradually found their way into Rome, and the ancient national religion had been so far forgotten, that its meaning and import were becoming matters of antiquarian speculation and research. The great Roman families thought it necessary to give their sons a Greek education, and make them conversant with the arts and literature of Greece. In fact the influence of the Greeks was so great, that Rome might have become a sort of corrupt Greek state, had the tendency not

been checked by a body of men who still clung tenaciously to the ways and manners of their ancestors. This party was headed by *Porcius Cato*, who in his censorship did all he could to put down the prevailing fashion. In B.C. 155, he carried a decree by which three Greek philosophers, who had been sent to Rome as ambassadors and had attracted crowds of young men to their lectures, were ordered to quit the city. Long before this time, it had been found necessary to forbid the celebration of the festivals of Bacchus (*Bacchanalia*), which had been introduced into Rome from Southern Italy, and at which every kind of vice and licentiousness was practised. Cato counteracted the tendency of the age, not only by legal enactments but also by his writings on agriculture and on the early history of the Italians. But even he, unable to swim against the current, commenced the study of Greek in his old age.

The enormous wealth accumulated at Rome produced vast changes among the citizens of the republic. Their humble dwellings were exchanged for stately villas surrounded by parks, and filled with costly furniture and precious works of art, carried away from the conquered countries and cities. The Roman ladies especially indulged in extravagant luxury and dress, against which legal enactments were powerless. The ancient and frugal mode of life, and the pursuit of agriculture, were more and more abandoned, young men preferring military service abroad to the peaceful employments at home. The great mass of the soldiers liked best to serve under a commander who connived at every kind of licence, for which they rewarded him by their votes in the assembly, when he offered himself as a candidate for any of the high offices. The besetting sin of those times was the hunting after popularity, which the wealthy nobles endeavoured to gain by every means, however base, and more especially by amusing the people with splendid games and exhibitions, for which the Romans at all times entertained a passionate fondness. Such games were not, as in Greece, a stimulus to noble deeds, but consisted

of the fights of gladiators in the circus, which fostered cruelty and a delight in bloodshed.

While the nobles lived in a style resembling that of princes, large classes spent their lives in poverty and distress, which were accompanied as usual by vices and crimes of every kind; yet these poor Romans looked upon themselves as the lords of the earth, and treated with contempt those foreigners whom war had reduced to slavery. The traffic in slaves was most lucrative, and those who might be employed as secretaries, readers, teachers, or domestic servants, often fetched enormous prices, while the rude and half-savage natives of Corsica and Sardinia were sold at a very low price. But although Rome was thus inwardly decaying very fast, its outward prosperity still continued to increase, and the great public works executed during this period, such as high roads, canals, aqueducts, and the like, sufficiently attest the grand and persevering energy of the Romans.

The nobles, for obvious reasons, were ever eager for fresh wars, and when appointed governors of foreign provinces, they were sure of being able to amass enormous wealth. The taxes to be paid by the provinces were not levied by the government itself, but were farmed by wealthy capitalists (*publicani*), who paid to the state a fixed sum, for which they obtained the right either themselves or through their agents to collect the taxes. Such a system opened a wide field for extortion and oppression. Whenever a country became a Roman province, it was immediately overrun by usurers and money-lenders, who soon absorbed what was left by the tax-gatherers. There existed, indeed, laws against extortion in the provinces, and their inhabitants might apply to the Roman senate for redress, but as the judges had either been guilty of similar offences or were looking forward to them as means of enriching themselves, the accused generally escaped with impunity.

But the misrule of the governors of provinces and the extortion of the *publicani* often drove the provincials into open rebellion. Such was the case in *Lusitania* in Spain,

where *Sulpicius Galba* treacherously caused the people to assemble before him without their arms, and then let his soldiery loose upon them and had them all massacred. *Viriathus*, a brave Lusitanian, who had escaped on that terrible day, rallied round him as many of his countrymen as he could, and waged a desperate war against the Romans, which lasted from B.C. 148 to B.C. 140, and in which the Romans often suffered terrible reverses. In B.C. 141, the Romans were even obliged to conclude a peace with him, in which they had to recognise him as their friend and ally. This, however, was felt to be such a humiliation that in the year following the war was renewed; but even then they got rid of their enemy only by hiring assassins, who murdered him in his own tent. The Lusitanians indeed continued the war a few years longer, until in B.C. 137 they were compelled to submit.

Whilst the war against the Lusitanians was still going on, another broke out with the *Celtiberians*, B.C. 143. Their capital, *Numantia*, situated on a lofty eminence on the river *Durius*, was besieged for a period of five years, during which its inhabitants displayed the utmost bravery. In B.C. 137, the consul *Hostilius Mancinus* was reduced to such straits as to be obliged to conclude a peace with the *Numantines*, by which he had to recognise their independence. But the Roman senate refused to sanction the peace, and ordered *Mancinus* to be delivered up to the *Numantines*.

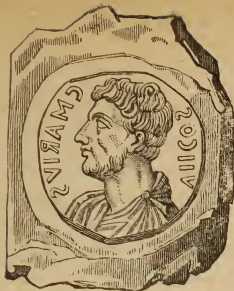
The war was thus renewed, and the *Numantines*, as before, defended themselves most heroically. *Scipio*, the destroyer of Carthage, then received the command of the army and the unenviable task of torturing to death a heroic people. He continued the siege with increased vigour, and the city suffered from such a terrible famine that for some time they fed upon the corpses of their fellow-citizens, until at last in B.C. 133, after having killed their wives and children, they threw open the gates of their city and surrendered. The number of survivors was very small, and the long sufferings they had undergone had so much changed their features, that they

scarcely resembled human beings. Scipio then destroyed the city, the ruins of which still exist, a monument of the brave struggle of the Numantines for freedom and independence. Spain now became a Roman province, and being completely exhausted, remained quiet for many years.

In the year in which Numantia fell, *Attalus*, king of Pergamus, died and bequeathed his treasures and his kingdom to the Roman people. Two years later, *Aristonicus*, a relative of the late king, disputed his will and claimed the kingdom as his lawful inheritance. As he was supported by many who hated the Roman dominion, he was enabled to place himself at the head of a general insurrection of the Ionians and Lydians. This led to a war with Rome, which, with varying success, was continued into the year B.C. 130, when it was brought to a close by *Perperna*, who took *Aristonicus* prisoner and carried him to Rome in triumph. In this war the Romans had been assisted by *Mithradates V.*, king of Pontus, who received as his reward the country called Phrygia, but the kingdom of Pergamus was constituted as a Roman province under the name of *Asia*.



COIN OF ANTIOCHUS.



CAIUS MARIUS.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE TIME OF THE GRACCHI DOWN TO THE FIRST
WAR AGAINST MITHRADATES.

B.C. 133 TO B.C. 88.

THE Roman aristocracy, or the "optimates," as they called themselves, consisting of both patricians and plebeians, had gradually stepped into the place of the old patricians; and although the law did not recognise them as a distinct order, they nevertheless endeavoured by all means to secure the exclusive possession of the great offices and of the domain land. Their number was comparatively small but they contrived to hold in their hands the administration of the republic and of the provinces, and thus they alone reaped wealth and glory from foreign wars. In this manner they amassed enormous riches, while multitudes were pining in poverty. The small landed proprietors who had once constituted the strength of the republic had nearly disappeared, and instead of them there had arisen a class of men who spent their life in idleness, and were ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder. Their number had latterly been much increased by the admission of freed men and strangers to the franchise. So long as the proprietors of large estates had them cultivated by free peasants or clients, things had gone on

pretty fairly, but when the nobles began to employ bodies of slaves in their cultivation instead of free labourers, thousands of Roman citizens were reduced to the condition of beggars or vagrants. Many a wise and noble Roman seeing before him the abyss into which the republic was sinking, tried to devise remedies for the ever-increasing evil. In B.C. 139 the tribune *Gabinus* introduced the vote by ballot in the election of magistrates, and two years later the tribune *Cassius Longinus* carried a law introducing the same mode of voting in the popular law courts. But these measures, intended to prevent bribery, produced the opposite effect. A better remedy would have been to create an independent middle class by the distribution of the public land, of which the state possessed a vast amount, or to confer the franchise upon the Latins. The latter, however, was distasteful to the pride of the ruling people, and the former to the avarice and selfishness of the optimates. The fears entertained by far-sighted statesmen must have been greatly increased by the events which were just then happening in Sicily, where the slaves, headed by *Eunus*, in B.C. 134, broke out in open rebellion against their masters and the whole of the free population. This servile war, which lasted for upwards of two years, and was carried on with all the bitterness and ferocity of slaves bursting their chains, was brought to a close by *Rupilius*, and more than 20,000 slaves are said to have been killed in it.

Occurrences like these showed what might happen in Italy, if the actual system was persevered in. Many Romans saw the evil, but no one had the courage to come forward as a reformer, until in B.C. 133, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, a son of *Cornelia*, the daughter of the elder *Scipio Africanus*, after being elected tribune of the plebs, carried a law re-enacting the *Licinian law*, which, though it had never been repealed, had in the course of time become a dead letter. This law, as we have already seen, did not allow any person to hold more than 500 jugera of the public land; the surplus was to be taken from the actual possessors and distributed among poor

citizens in small lots as their full property. A commission of three men was to be appointed to superintend the measurement and distribution. At the same time it was proposed that the property which had just then been bequeathed to the Roman people by King Attalus, should be divided among those who received land, in order to enable them to purchase stock and agricultural implements. The optimates, headed by *Scipio Nasica*, opposed the bill with all their might, and induced the tribune Octavius to put his veto on the proposal of his colleague. In this scheme they succeeded all the more easily, because Octavius himself possessed more of the public land than the law allowed. Gracchus left no means untried to persuade his colleague to give up his opposition, but without success. He was therefore forced either to abandon his patriotic scheme altogether, or to get rid of Octavius. He adopted the latter course, which, though unconstitutional, yet was justifiable on moral grounds. In a numerously-attended meeting of the people he proposed and carried the deposition of Octavius. This procedure gave his opponents a handle against him, and with some show of justice they declared that he was upsetting the constitution of the republic, and even spread the malicious report that he was aiming at making himself king of Rome. The people in their ignorance being easily misled, began to suspect the motives of Gracchus, and when he offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship for the following year, it was evident that his popularity had been undermined, and the optimates, with their followers created a tumult, in which Gracchus with three hundred of his friends were killed. This scene of bloodshed was followed by every kind of persecution of the friends of the tribune, in which the nobles revenged themselves for the fear they had suffered of being deprived of their illegal possessions.

Although the optimates had gained a complete victory, still the tribunes had become aware of their power and influence, and by their perseverance succeeded in the years which now followed to carry several popular enact-

ments. The optimates had recourse to various contrivances for getting rid of the men whose opposition they most dreaded ; but all their machinations did not prevent *Caius Sempronius Gracchus*, the younger and more talented brother of Tiberius, from offering himself as a candidate for the tribuneship for the year B.C. 123. He was elected, and at once proposed and carried a number of laws, the object of all being to weaken the power of the optimates, and to make provisions for the poorer classes. One of them was the re-enactment of his brother's agrarian law.

His course of legislation had made him so popular, that without much opposition he was re-elected tribune for the following year. His legislative activity was as great in the second as it had been in the first year. The first law he carried ordained that the law courts, which had hitherto been composed of senators only, should henceforth consist of equites or wealthy capitalists, so that, for example, senators accused of extortion in the provinces were no longer tried by their peers, but by a body of men believed to be honest and independent. Another law had reference to the distribution of the provinces, which henceforth was to take place before the election of the magistrates. Other measures were designed to give employment to the poorer classes in the making of public roads, constructing of public buildings, and other useful undertakings. His work proceeded as satisfactorily as could be expected ; but when, urged on by his friend *Falvius Flaccus*, he proposed that the franchise should be conferred upon the Latins, the optimates prevailed upon Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes, to outbid Gracchus in popular measures, and to promise the people other and greater advantages. By this means they succeeded in undermining the popularity of Gracchus, and in preventing his re-election to the tribuneship for the third year. When his second year of office had come to a close and he was divested of the sacred character of a tribune, his enemies gave the reins to their rage, and during the disturbances which then ensued, the consul Opimius, a per-

sonal enemy of Gracchus, was called upon by the senate to save the republic, as the cry was, from impending ruin. A regular battle was fought in the streets of Rome, in which Falvius Flaccus with three thousand of his followers were slain. Gracchus escaped across the river into the Grove of the Furies, where, by his own request, he was killed by a faithful slave. Executions and exile then completed the work which the sword had left undone, and the optimates, when satiated with blood, committed the blasphemy of erecting a temple to Concord. However, their triumph was not of long duration, and events were happening destined to bring their misdeeds into still more striking relief.

The measures of the Gracchi, and their immediate consequences form the beginning of a revolutionary period which terminated only with the downfall of the republic and the establishment of monarchy. The nobles had indeed gained the victory, but they made the worst possible use of it; they continued to indulge their insatiable avarice and the most barefaced bribery. But events were taking place destined to open the eyes of the Roman people to their disgraceful conduct. *Jugurtha*, the adopted son of Masinissa, knowing the venal character of the Romans, and feeling sure of impunity, if he could only lavish sufficient bribes upon the leading Romans, murdered the two sons of Masinissa, and made himself the sole ruler of Numidia. The Romans acted the part of mere lookers on, and were induced by large bribes to connive at the crimes of the usurper, until the tribune *Caius Memmius*, indignantly exposing the conduct of the nobles, prevailed upon the senate, in B.C. 111, to declare war against Jugurtha. The commanders of the army sent into Africa soon discovered that they could benefit themselves more by accepting the bribes of Jugurtha, than by adopting vigorous measures against him. When this became known at Rome, Memmius again fearlessly exposed the shameless conduct of those who had been entrusted with the management of the war. Jugurtha was then summoned to Rome, and even now might have escaped

punishment, had he not had the audacity to murder young Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa. He was ordered to quit Rome, and the war was continued, but in so careless a manner, that the senate, alarmed at the growth of popular indignation, in B.C. 109, entrusted the command against Jugurtha to the proud, but brave and honest *Cæcilius Metellus*, who for a period of two years managed the war in a very creditable manner, and restored the honour of the Roman arms.

When he went to Africa, he took with him *Caius Marius* as one of his lieutenants. Marius was a man of humble origin, but of unbounded ambition and full of hatred of the aristocracy, whose polished manners he despised. He had already distinguished himself and gained much popularity by the vigorous manner in which he had opposed and attacked the proceedings of the nobles. His personal valour and military talents also were generally known, and the people even then seem to have looked upon him as the only man capable of bringing the war against Jugurtha to a close. The year after his arrival in Africa, he asked permission of his commander to go to Rome to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship. The insolent manner in which Metellus treated him on that occasion only fired his ambition. On his arrival at Rome he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the popular party, and not only obtained the consulship for B.C. 107, but was commissioned to undertake the war against Jugurtha as the successor of Metellus. Marius, in organising his army, enlisted large numbers of the poorer classes, and even freed men, and trained them in so excellent a manner, that they became more than a match for the crafty Numidian, who was driven to such straits, that he applied to Bocchus, his father-in-law, for assistance. But *Cornelius Sulla*, a young noble, who was serving in the army of Marius as quæstor, induced Bocchus to deliver up Jugurtha, and Sulla brought him as a prisoner to Marius. This terminated the war, B.C. 106. Jugurtha was carried to Rome in triumph, and then thrown into a dungeon, where he was starved to death.

Italy was at this time threatened by an invasion of barbarians, more terrible than any it had yet experienced, and it was most fortunate that the Roman armies were no longer needed in Africa. The *Cimbri*, a Keltic host, pressed forward by commotions among eastern nations, appeared in Noricum in B.C. 113, where they were joined by another host of wandering *Teutones* or Germans. The *Cimbri* had no other object but to find new homes in Western Europe, and promised to commit no act of hostility against the Romans or their allies. They kept their promise, but being nevertheless treacherously attacked by the Romans near Noreia, they completely defeated them. They then proceeded into Gaul, which they ravaged in all directions; and in the course of four years several Roman armies were routed by the invaders on the banks of the Rhone and on the lake of Geneva. Rome was alarmed as in the days of Hannibal, and Marius again was the man to whom all looked with confidence. Although he had not yet returned from Africa, he was elected in his absence to the consulship for B.C. 104, and the same honour was conferred on him successively in the four following years. The *Cimbri*, after their several victories over the Romans, instead of invading Italy, proceeded to Spain, which they ravaged in the same manner as they had ravaged Gaul; but in B.C. 102 they returned to Gaul, where in the meantime the *Teutones* also had arrived.

Ever since his second consulship Marius had with great care trained and disciplined his army for the coming struggle, and when the *Cimbri* returned from Spain, Marius fought a great battle near Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix) against the *Teutones*, and their whole body was nearly annihilated. But meanwhile the *Cimbri* were descending from the Alps into Italy, and the army opposed to them under *Lutatius Catulus*, had to retreat before them to the southern bank of the Po. On hearing of this, Marius with his forces hastened to his relief, and at a place called *Campi Raudii*, near Vercellæ, he defeated, in B.C. 101, the *Cimbri* as completely as he had the year before defeated

the Teutones. Marius was now universally greeted as the deliverer of Italy, and the sixth consulship, B.C. 100, was the reward of his glorious victories.

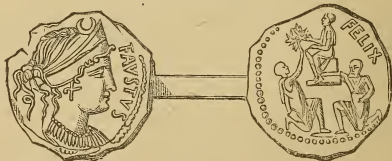
The popular or democratic party was now triumphant, and the nobles fearing to lose what they considered their rights, united under the leadership of Sulla, who was no less ambitious than Marius, and combined in his person all the vices and virtues of the Roman aristocracy. He had a special hatred of Marius, who, elated by his victories, acted in many ways as if he were the master of the Roman republic, and even supported the infamous tribune Appuleius Saturninus, who tyrannised over the assembly of the people, and by main force and violence carried a number of enactments, one of which proposed that the lands conquered by Marius in Africa and Gaul should be distributed among his veterans. Cæcilius Metellus, who opposed the revolutionary schemes of the tribune, was sent into exile. Saturninus succeeded in causing himself to be elected twice to the tribuneship by murdering his competitors in broad daylight. In B.C. 100 he went so far as to cause the murder of the high-minded Caius Memmius, because he wished to secure the consulship for his friend Servilius Glaucia. This, and many other atrocities, at length induced Marius openly to declare against Saturninus, and when he called upon the citizens to defend the republic, the people readily took up arms against the monster. Saturninus, with Glaucia and his followers, withdrew to the Capitol, where they were besieged; but want of water compelled them to surrender, and Marius ordered nearly all of them to be put to death. After these scenes, Marius for a time withdrew from public life, and the party feuds seemed to be subsiding.

But Sulla neglected no opportunity of wounding the feelings of Marius, especially by trying to show that the honour of having brought the war against Jugurtha to a close belonged to him, and not to Marius. But far weightier matters than these personal disputes were agitating the public mind. The reform introduced by

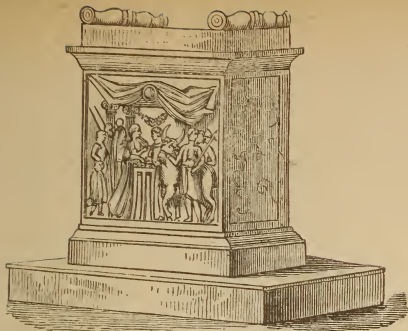
Gracchus regarding the courts of law had proved a complete failure, for the equites were found to be as accessible to bribes as the senators had been before, and in fact the one body helped and played into the hands of the other; the number of poor was increasing year by year, which enabled the rich by their bribery to monopolise all political power; and lastly, the Latins and Italian allies had become very clamorous in demanding the Roman franchise. Few men had the courage to grapple with these questions, but in B.C. 91, the eloquent tribune *Livius Drusus* undertook the task. His first attempt consisted in a proposal to divide the judicial power equally between the senators and the equites; he next aimed at checking the increase of pauperism, by distributing the public land among the poor and by the establishment of colonies; his third measure demanded the franchise for all the Italians. The exasperation of the nobles against him was so great, that before he was able to bring forward his third bill, he was murdered in his own house. The Italian allies, now seeing that it was useless to try to obtain what they wanted by constitutional means, resolved to conquer by force of arms what was so recklessly refused to their demands. A war thus broke out in B.C. 90, commonly called the *Marsian* or *Social War*, which blazed forth at once in all parts of Italy.

The Romans had never extended the franchise beyond the thirty-five tribes, which number was completed about the end of the First Punic War. The rights enjoyed by the Latins and Latin colonies approached nearest to the Roman franchise, and it was evident that they must be the first to obtain equal rights with the Romans. The Italians had set their last hope upon the efforts of *Livius Drusus*, and when they were disappointed in this, all the Sabellian nations, with the Marsians and Samnites at their head, formed themselves into a confederacy and declared their independence of Rome. Their plan was to establish an Italian republic governed by two consuls, and to make Corfinium, which was henceforth to be called *Italica*, its capital. The armies of the confederates were

well trained, and the ample means for conducting the war seemed to promise success; but fortunately for Rome, the Latins throughout Italy as well as the Etruscans and Umbrians, did not join the confederacy, and in order to prevent their doing so, a law was proposed and carried at once, by Lucius Julius Cæsar, B.C. 90, whereby the franchise was conferred upon all the Latins; and two years later, when the Etruscans and Umbrians were on the point of joining the confederates, Rome wisely propitiated them also, by granting them the franchise. The war had in the meantime been carried on in several parts of Italy, and many a bloody battle had been fought. But the concessions made by Rome to the Latins, Etruscans, and Umbrians broke the strength and the hopes of the allies. At the same time, Rome was anxious to restore peace in Italy, because it was threatened by a war with Mithradates, king of Pontus. Pressed by this danger, the franchise was promised to all the Italians who should lay down their arms by a certain day. This measure produced the desired effect, and terminated the Social War, B.C. 88, in which Italy had lost 300,000 men. All accepted the offer except the Samnites, who afterwards joined Marius in his war against Sulla. The new citizens thus admitted to the franchise, were, however, not put on a complete footing of equality with the old ones, and, as we shall see hereafter, this arrangement gave rise to fresh civil disturbances.



COIN OF SULLA.



▲ ROMAN ALTAR.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRADATES, DOWN
TO THE DEATH OF SULLA.

B.C. 88 TO B.C. 78.

AT the time when the Romans were at war with Aristonicus, the claimant of the kingdom of Pergamus, they were supported, as we have seen, by Mithradates V., king of Pontus, for which they afterwards rewarded him by adding Phrygia to his kingdom. But as soon as Mithradates was dead, they took it away, and his successor, *Mithradates VI.*, being still very young and unable to resist the Romans at the time, strengthened himself by every means, especially by enlarging his kingdom. Mithradates had received a Greek education, and in addition to all the advantages which Greek culture could afford, he possessed great courage and enterprise. When he was sufficiently prepared to meet the Romans, he no longer hesitated to interfere in the affairs of countries allied with Rome; and his well-disciplined troops proved a match for the Romans whenever they met. As he advanced towards the west coast of Asia Minor, he was everywhere welcomed by the Greeks, who looked upon

him as their deliverer from the Romans. In B.C. 88, he is said in one day to have ordered the massacre of 80,000 Romans residing in the different towns of Asia. When he had obtained possession of all Asia Minor, he sent his Greek general, *Archelaus*, with a large army into Greece, where his arrival was hailed by the chief cities, such as Athens and Thebes, as that of a deliverer.

These proceedings of the Pontian king called for immediate and energetic measures. The Roman senate accordingly entrusted the supreme command against him to *Sulla*, who was elected consul for B.C. 88. *Sulla*, who had distinguished himself in the Social War, was at the time still continuing the contest against the Samnites. *Marius* felt greatly hurt at being thus passed over, as the war against *Mithradates* was one in which glory and wealth would be the sure reward of the conqueror. Under the influence of this feeling, *Marius* allied himself with the tribune *Publius Sulpicius*, who, partly by violence and partly by a cunning distribution of the new citizens among the old thirty-five tribes, carried a proposal depriving *Sulla* of the command against *Mithradates*, and conferring it upon *Marius*. When *Sulla* was informed of this, he straightway marched with his army to Rome, which, being unprepared, was forced to admit him and his soldiers. The popular party offered a most determined resistance in the streets of the city, but *Sulla* succeeded in putting his enemies to flight. He used this victory with great moderation, outlawing only *Marius* and eleven of the most conspicuous leaders. *Marius* with great difficulty escaped to Minturnæ, and thence crossed over into Africa, where he is said to have spent his time among the ruins of Carthage, carefully watching the course of events in Italy.

Sulla spent some time at Rome, making such arrangements as might insure peace and tranquillity in the city during his absence in the East. He went so far in his moderation as to allow *Lucius Cornelius Cinna*, a leader of the democrats, to be elected consul for B.C. 87, together with his aristocratic friend, *Cneius Octavius*. Leaving

the command against the Samnites to Pompeius Rufus, Sulla went with his army to Greece, where Thebes submitted to him without striking a blow. Archelaus, after two bloody battles, was put to flight. Sulla then marched against *Athens*, which, after a long siege, during which its inhabitants suffered from the most terrible famine, was taken and plundered, B.C. 86. His conduct towards Athens was marked by the greatest barbarity: the fortifications and even ancient temples were destroyed or pillaged, and a vast number of works of art was carried away. While these things were going on in Greece, Mithradates, being himself hard pressed in Asia by another Roman army under *Fimbria*, ordered Archelaus to negotiate for peace. The negotiations were protracted for a long time until B.C. 84, when Sulla himself went to Asia and had a personal interview with the king. Peace was then concluded on condition that Mithradates should pay all the expenses of the war, surrender his whole fleet, and give up all his conquests, so that his empire was limited to the original kingdom of Pontus. Sulla then proceeded to chastise the provinces and towns of Asia which had joined Mithradates, and exacted enormous fines from them, so that those countries for a long time after were in a state of complete exhaustion. *Fimbria* though he had been very successful against the Pontian king, was treated by Sulla as an enemy, because he belonged to the party of Marius; and as he was deserted by his own soldiers, he put an end to his existence.

During Sulla's absence, Rome was again the scene of civil bloodshed, for Cinna attempted to abolish the regulations made by Sulla before his departure, and to recall the outlaws. But the party of the nobility in a fierce struggle drove him out of the city, and deprived him of the consulship. He then proceeded to the army engaged against the Samnites in Campania, where he assembled around him the malcontents from all parts of Italy, and invited Marius to return from Africa. Marius at once accepted the invitation, and after landing in Etruria, collected an army; in conjunction with Cinna, he

marched upon Rome, which was compelled by famine and internal feuds to surrender. Marius now gave the reins to his desire for revenge upon his political opponents: bands of infuriated soldiers traversed the streets of Rome, murdering and robbing with impunity; and the leading aristocrats, such as Catulus, the consul Cneius Octavius, the orator Marcus Antonius, and many others, were slain, their houses plundered and destroyed, and their bodies left unheeded in the streets. For five days and five nights Rome suffered all the horrors of a city taken by the sword.

After these bloody proceedings, Marius caused himself to be elected to his seventh consulship for the year B.C. 86; but he did not long enjoy this honour, for he died about the middle of January. The war with the Samnites had in the meantime been brought to an end, and the franchise had been conferred upon them. All Italy was now completely in the hands of the popular party headed by Cinna, and the nobles urgently pressed upon Sulla to return home and save his party. But Sulla thought it right first to finish the work he had undertaken in Asia, and did not land in Italy till the beginning of B.C. 83. He proceeded at once to Campania; and as Cinna had been murdered by his own soldiers, the Marian party was deprived of the last able man among them, for those who now came forward as its leaders, such as Carbo, young Marius, and Norbanus, possessed neither the talent nor the energy required by the circumstances of the time. Sulla defeated them in several battles, and their soldiers came over to him. In B.C. 82, young Marius took refuge at Præneste, where he was closely besieged and driven to commit suicide. Sulla then entered Rome. At the same time, a Samnite army commanded by Pontius Telesinus, appeared before its gates, hoping to take the city by surprise; but Sulla met the enemy at the Colline Gate, where a most murderous battle was fought, in which the popular party was so completely defeated, that Pontius Telesinus in despair committed suicide.

By this battle Sulla became the undisputed master of Italy. All those who had to dread his vengeance took to flight, and a few days after the battle 8000 prisoners were butchered in the Circus, while the senate, assembled in the adjoining temple of Bellona, heard the cries and shrieks of the victims. Terrified by such scenes, the senate readily complied with all the commands of the conqueror. Although more than 100,000 lives had already been sacrificed during the civil war, Sulla, not yet satisfied, devised a new and unprecedented means for punishing those whom he suspected to have favoured his enemy. He set on foot a proscription, that is, a list of all those whom he chose to regard as his enemies was set up in public. Any one whose name was contained in that list might be killed, his estates were confiscated, and his descendants were for ever deprived of the franchise. This measure, though it was adopted under great provocation, is one of the most fearful recorded in history, for it tore asunder every tie of blood and friendship; sons betrayed their fathers, friends their friends, and slaves their masters, for it was a part of the proscription that those who protected or concealed a proscribed person, should be punished in the same way as the proscribed themselves. No less than 1600 equites were thus murdered, and among the monsters who distinguished themselves in those terrible days we find Catiline, of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

Having thus got rid of all his enemies, Sulla, in B.C. 82, caused himself to be appointed dictator for an indefinite period of time. And having by this means obtained unlimited power, he first of all rewarded those soldiers through whom he had risen to his present position, a proceeding quite new in Roman history. Twenty-three legions had colonies assigned to them, mainly in those towns which had supported his enemies. In these colonies, called *military* colonies, the soldiers constituted the ruling body, and being scattered all over Italy, they afforded the dictator a ready means of keeping the country in subjection. Moreover, 10,000 slaves were emancipated

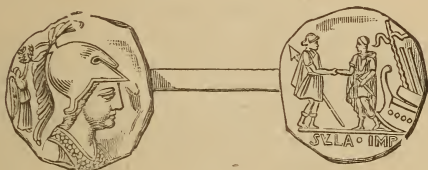
by him, and under the name of the Corneliî formed his bodyguard ; and, lastly, he increased the number of senators by admitting into that august body a number of persons ready to do his bidding.

After these preliminary measures, the object of which was to secure his power, he proceeded to reform the constitution in a reactionary spirit. He first reduced the powers of the tribunes to what they had been originally, that is, the power to afford assistance against the arbitrary proceedings of a magistrate. By this means the comitia tributa were deprived of their legislative functions. His second measure restored to the senators the judicial power which Gracchus had assigned to the equites. Lastly, he increased the number of prætors to eight, that of the quæstors to twenty, and that of the pontiffs and augurs to fifteen. These and some other regulations respecting the administration of the provinces were his chief political reforms, and they show that he imagined the ancient spirit of the constitution could be restored by reviving its obsolete forms. Such reforms of course could not last. He was more successful in what he did for the criminal law, which he was the first to place on a solid and permanent basis.

After having made all these arrangements, Sulla, to the surprise of every one, in B.C. 78 laid down his dictatorship and withdrew to Puteoli, where he lived as a private person, and died the following year of a disease which had probably been brought on by his licentious mode of life. During his dictatorship, the scattered remnants of the Marian party had assembled in Sicily, Africa, and Spain, where their numbers were increased by malcontents. Pompey, who had greatly distinguished himself in the Social War, was despatched to Sicily and Africa, where he annihilated the opponents of Sulla by causing Carbo in Sicily to be assassinated, and by defeating Domitius Ahenobarbus in Africa. For this achievement, Pompey on his return obtained the honour of a triumph, although he was then only twenty-four years old.

During the same period, Rome was engaged in a second

war against *Mithradates*, which lasted from B.C. 83 to B.C. 81. The cause of it was that the Pontian king, after Sulla's departure, had repented of the peace, and as it had never been sanctioned by the Roman senate, he refused to give up Cappadocia, which he had promised to do. But he was betrayed by his general Archelaus, who persuaded Murena, the commander of the Roman forces in Asia, to attack the king at once, and not to wait until the king should take the offensive. Murena, acting on this advice, proceeded to Cappadocia, where he plundered the rich temple of Comana; but being attacked by Mithradates in the neighbourhood of Sinope, he was completely defeated. Peace, however, was then again concluded, B.C. 81, which left Mithradates in possession of at least a part of Cappadocia.



A MEDAL REPRESENTING THE MEETING OF SULLA AND MITHRADATES



BUST OF POMPEY.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEATH OF SULLA TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE
WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

B.C. 78 TO B.C. 49.

IN the very year of Sulla's death, it became evident that his political reforms possessed no vitality. The first attempt to abolish them was made by *Æmilius Lepidus*, who failed because the party of Sulla was still too powerful. Similar attempts, however, were made year after year, until, in B.C. 70, Pompey, who himself had been a partisan of Sulla, carried a law by which the powers of the tribunes were restored to what they had been before the reform of Sulla; and in the same year *Aurelius Cotta* carried a bill by which the courts of law which Sulla had restored to the senators, were henceforth composed of senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii. Pompey in carrying and supporting these measures had no other object in view but to gain popularity, and this end he attained most completely, though more by good fortune than by any extraordinary abilities. He became the idol of the citizens as well as of the soldiers, and, in fact, the most popular man in Rome.

We have not yet mentioned what became of the remnants of the Marian party in Spain. In B.C. 82,

when Sulla entered Rome, *Sertorius*, the best and ablest of the democratic leaders, having become disgusted with the reckless proceedings of his own party, went with a considerable force into Spain, in the hope of being able there to maintain the popular cause. He was soon joined by the exiled and persecuted followers of Marius, and by his prudence and military skill, he not only succeeded in attaching the soldiers to his person, but by his kindness he won the confidence of the Spaniards. His plan was to found an independent republic in Spain, in which Spaniards and Romans were to have equal rights. The new republic was to be governed by two consuls and a senate of three hundred members. A great public school also was established at Osca, in which the sons of Spaniards were to receive a Roman education. The plan at first succeeded admirably, and Sertorius enjoyed the confidence and affection of the Spaniards as well as of the Romans. War was commenced against him as early as B.C. 79, but neither Metellus nor Pompey was able to make any impression upon his excellently trained army. In B.C. 74, Sertorius entered into an alliance with Mithradates, whereby he hoped to place Rome between two fires. But disunion among the Spaniards saved Rome from this double danger. *Perperna*, one of the officers in Sertorius's army, whose ambition had been thwarted, in B.C. 72 formed a conspiracy against him, and caused him to be murdered at Osca during a banquet. *Perperna* then assumed the command of the army, but in his very first encounter with Pompey his whole army was routed, and he himself, having fallen into the hands of Pompey, was put to death. The Spanish republic thus came to an untimely end, and the Marian party was now utterly annihilated.

Ever since the Romans had become masters of the countries round the basin of the Mediterranean, the number of slaves both in Italy and in Sicily had been enormously increased. In the island a second servile war had been carried on from B.C. 102 to B.C. 99, in which thousands were killed on both sides. A similar but more dangerous insurrection broke out in B.C. 73 at

Capua, where about seventy slaves who were under training as gladiators, broke loose, and headed by the Thracian *Spartacus*, forced the prisons of other slaves in Southern Italy, and called on them to assert their freedom. Their number soon increased to ten thousand, all of whom were provided with arms. The object of these slaves seems to have been only to regain their liberty and to return to their homes; but having been successful against several consular armies, Spartacus formed the plan of attacking and destroying Rome itself. The free population of Southern Italy had been very much thinned during the Social War, and the slaves traversed the country murdering and destroying everything that came in their way. Fortunately for Rome, the slaves acted without any regular military organisation, and roamed over the country in irregular bodies. In consequence of this, *Licinius Crassus*, in B.C. 71, succeeded in gaining a complete victory over them; and as Spartacus himself fell in the battle, the slaves lost all hope of success. Thousands of them were captured and slain, and their bodies were impaled along the highroads, to strike terror into their fellow slaves; but a body of about five thousand escaped to the north of Italy, intending to proceed into Gaul. Just at this time Pompey, returning from Spain, fell in with them and completely cut them to pieces.

It was on his return from Spain to Rome, in B.C. 70, that he obtained the consulship, and for the sake of popularity assisted in abolishing the constitution of Sulla. After the expiration of his consulship, he lived for a time in private retirement, enjoying his popularity and waiting until a fresh opportunity for action offered itself. The same causes which had of late years increased the number of slaves, had also called into existence a number of pirates, infesting all parts of the Mediterranean, so that maritime commerce was exposed to the greatest dangers, and had almost become impossible. The pirates even plundered several coast towns, and ventured to destroy or capture ships at Ostia, the port town of Rome. They had their strongholds and warehouses chiefly in

Cilicia, on the south coast of Asia Minor. War had been waged against them ever since the year B.C. 78, but without any result, and Rome was in constant danger of famine. In these circumstances, the tribune *Aulus Gabinius*, in B.C. 67, proposed that Pompey should be invested for three years with the command in the Mediterranean and all its coasts, to a considerable distance from the sea; and that he should be amply provided with the means necessary to bring the war against the pirates to a close. Such a proposal might turn out dangerous to the very existence of the republic, and as such it was viewed by many; but the people did not hesitate to confer upon their favourite all that was demanded for him; and their confidence was fully justified, for the war which he now commenced and successfully terminated in about three months, was the most brilliant feat he ever accomplished. He completely swept with his fleet the Mediterranean, proceeding from west to east, and drove the pirates into the Cilician Sea, where he routed them in a great battle. The survivors were taken prisoners or surrendered; and Pompey, after destroying their strongholds, assigned to them settlements in which they might be able to gain their means of living without again resorting to piracy; for most of them can scarcely be called criminals; they chiefly consisted of people who had been impoverished and had become homeless by the Roman conquests in the East.

After having terminated this war in so brief a period, Pompey remained in Asia, probably in the hope of receiving the command in the third war against Mithradates, in which Rome had already been engaged for some years. The king of Pontus, as we have already noticed, had been tempted in B.C. 74, by Sertorius to renew his hostilities against Rome. It so happened that Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, had just died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Mithradates at once refused to recognise this bequest, and invaded Bithynia, while his fleet, after a naval victory over the Romans, laid siege to the wealthy town of Cyzicus, which was in alliance with

Rome. Meanwhile, *Lucullus*, who had arrived with his army in Asia, in B.C. 73, cut off the king from all supplies of provisions. This and some other losses sustained by Mithradates seemed to render his condition hopeless, and he fled to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia, while Lucullus invaded Pontus, and compelled the towns to surrender one after another. Lucullus then set about regulating the affairs of the conquered countries; and when Tigranes refused to deliver up Mithradates, Lucullus, in B.C. 69, marched to Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia, in the neighbourhood of which he defeated a vast army of Asiatics. Both kings then took to flight; but Tigranes, venturing upon another battle, was beaten a second time, near Artaxata; and Lucullus now thought of subduing the whole of Armenia, when a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, which was headed by *Publius Clodius*. Lucullus succeeded indeed in quelling the mutiny; but Mithradates, availing himself of the opportunity, returned to his kingdom, and Lucullus, though acting with energy, was prevented by the mutinous spirit of his army from gaining his end. Just at this time, B.C. 67, Lucullus had to give up the command to *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been sent from Rome as his successor. Glabrio, far from following in the footsteps of Lucullus, let all the advantages gained by his predecessor slip out of his hands, and Mithradates was enabled to regain possession of Pontus and Cappadocia. Lucullus, who had amassed enormous wealth, now returned to Italy, where his palaces and villas were always open to men of refined taste in art and literature. He is said to have introduced into Italy the cherry-tree from Cerasus, a town in Colchis; and the name cherry is therefore supposed to be derived from Cerasus.

What Pompey had expected was now coming to pass, for the ever-increasing power of Mithradates and the want of success of the Roman commander, afforded to the friends of Pompey a welcome opportunity of getting the command against Mithradates conferred upon him. Accordingly, in B.C. 66, the tribune *Manilius* brought

forward a bill to this effect, which, being supported by some of the leading men, conferred upon him all the powers necessary to bring the war against the Pontian king to a close. Having received large reinforcements, Pompey attacked Mithradates on the banks of the Euphrates, where the king was utterly defeated and put to flight. Tigranes at the same time received back the sovereignty of Armenia at the hands of Pompey. Mithradates, who had fled into Colchis, was pursued by Pompey, who as conqueror traversed Albania and Iberia, countries about Mount Caucasus; but owing to the difficulties he encountered in those remote regions, he gave up the pursuit. While Mithradates was forming the bold plan of invading Italy from the north, in conjunction with Scythian tribes, an insurrection broke out among his own soldiers at Panticapæum, in the Crimea. The insurrection was headed by the king's own son, *Pharnaces*; and Mithradates, finding that his life was not safe, destroyed himself by poison, B.C. 63. When the body was sent to Pompey, he ordered it to be buried with regal magnificence; but nevertheless rewarded the unnatural son with the sovereignty of the country about the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Pompey then proceeded to Syria, and began to dispose of kingdoms as if he had been the sovereign of the world. Thus Antiochus, king of Syria, was deposed, and his kingdom, together with Phœnicia, was changed into a Roman province. Several countries in Asia Minor were given to kings ready to recognise the supremacy of Rome, while Bithynia, with a portion of Pontus, was made a Roman province. In Judæa, he displayed the same arbitrary proceedings, for having taken the Temple of Jerusalem, he appointed Hyrcanus tetrarch, while his brother Aristobulus, with his children, was carried to Rome as a prisoner.

When all these arrangements were made, Pompey, in B.C. 62, left Asia, but did not arrive in Rome till the beginning of the year following. He celebrated a most magnificent triumph, and immense sums of money amassed

in Asia were handed over to the treasury of the republic. His popularity was so great that he might have done anything with impunity; but he affected great humility, making the people believe that he wished to be no more than a simple citizen. He was, however, most anxious to obtain from the senate the sanction of the arbitrary arrangements he had made in Asia, and he felt extremely hurt when he found that his wishes in this respect were opposed by men of the greatest influence; he was, in fact, so mortified, that he abandoned the cause of the optimates and joined the popular party.

Some time before Pompey's return, *Cicero* had saved the republic from a terrible conspiracy, headed by the infamous *Catiline*. Cicero was born at Arpinum in B.C. 106, and by his talent, industry, and irreproachable conduct, had so much distinguished himself, that, although he could not boast of great ancestors, he obtained the great offices of the state, one after another, as soon as he attained the age prescribed by law, and was raised to the consulship for the year B.C. 63. He was the greatest orator of the time, possessed great legal knowledge, and was the first Roman who popularised the philosophical speculations of the Greeks among his countrymen. As a statesman he was often led into inconsistencies and contradictions, partly owing to his friendship for both Cæsar and Pompey. He has often been blamed for his vanity, of which perhaps he cannot be acquitted, though much may be said to excuse it. In Cicero's consulship, Catiline, a patrician of a most profligate character, and overwhelmed with debts, formed a conspiracy which was joined by many reckless nobles, whose circumstances, like those of Catiline himself, were so desperate that they saw no hope of saving themselves except by a revolution. Catiline had attempted similar things before, but had been defeated by the watchfulness of the authorities and by his own impatience. He now determined to murder Cicero, to set fire to the city of Rome, to overthrow the constitution, and in the midst of the confusion to usurp the reins of government; but the vigilance of Cicero

prevented the infamous scheme. Catiline's secret proceedings were brought to light by the consul, and he himself quitted the city and joined an army of conspirators already assembled at Fæsulæ. The senate, on the proposal of Cicero and Cato, condemned him and some of his associates who had remained at Rome to death. The latter were strangled in prison, but Catiline himself and the army of Fæsulæ were defeated in a furious battle near Pistoria, in the north of Etruria. Cicero was overjoyed at having saved his country; but his happiness did not last long, for many of the friends and secret supporters of Catiline still remained at Rome, eagerly watching for an opportunity of taking vengeance upon him.

We have already seen that, ever since the time of Marius and Sulla, the leading object of the men in power was to gain popularity at any cost, and that not with a view to benefit their country, but to gratify their own ambition and avarice. Hence the history of this period, down to the establishment of the monarchy, is little more than the personal history of men who endeavoured to outdo one another. By far the most eminent and most talented among them was *Caius Julius Cæsar*, born in B.C. 100, and belonging to one of the most ancient patrician families. He was fast rising in popular favour at the time when Pompey was quietly enjoying the fruits of his victories. Cæsar was a man of the highest culture, and indefatigable in all he undertook, but unscrupulous in regard to the means he employed to gain his end. He was equally great as an orator, an author, a general, and a statesman. An aunt of his had been married to Marius, for whom he always entertained great affection; and in B.C. 65 he openly came forward as the leader of the popular party. His liberality was unbounded, whence he became overwhelmed with debts; but a campaign against the revolted Lusitanians, B.C. 61, enabled him to acquire sufficient wealth to satisfy his creditors, as well as his own extravagant wants. In B.C. 59 he obtained the consulship; he strengthened himself by a close alliance with Pompey, and by effecting a reconciliation

between Pompey and Crassus. These three men came to an agreement, that no political measures should be allowed to be passed, unless they were agreeable to all three. They thus held the fate of the republic in their hands, and a number of popular measures were adopted, among them an agrarian law, by which 20,000 citizens received assignments of public land. Cæsar at last also prevailed upon the senate to sanction Pompey's arrangements in Asia, and caused Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum, to be assigned to himself as his provinces, which he was to administer after the expiration of his consulship.

Cæsar, however, did not at once proceed to his provinces, but remained in the neighbourhood of Rome until the end of April B.C. 58. The object of this seems to have been to support *Clodius*, who bore a grudge against Cicero, and by the aid of Cæsar obtained the tribuneship for B.C. 58. After having ingratiated himself by several popular measures, he carried a law whereby every one was declared an outlaw who had put to death a Roman citizen without a formal trial. This was aimed at Cicero, who on the mere authority of the senate had caused some of the associates of Catiline to be strangled in prison. Cicero, knowing this, went into exile in order to escape condemnation. He was then formally declared an outlaw, his house in the city was burnt, and two of his villas were destroyed. But no sooner had Clodius's tribuneship expired, than a reaction took place in public feeling, in consequence of which Cicero, being recalled from exile in B.C. 57, returned to Rome amid the greatest rejoicings of the people.

While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, the administration of which had been assigned to him for five years, things in Rome did not go very smoothly. In B.C. 55, when *Pompey* and *Crassus* were consuls, a law was carried by which Cæsar's government of Gaul was prolonged for other five years, while Pompey obtained Spain, and Crassus Syria, for the same period. Pompey, exercising a sort of dictatorial power, remained at Rome, leaving the

administration of Spain to his lieutenants; but Crassus, tempted by the rich province of Syria, proceeded thither with his army, robbing and plundering wherever he appeared; and in B.C. 54 undertook an expedition against the *Parthians*, who had formed a powerful empire on the east of the Euphrates; but after having crossed the river he was utterly defeated in a battle near Carrhæ, taken prisoner, and killed, together with his son. The Roman army was nearly annihilated, and the camp and all the standards fell into the hands of the conquerors.

When Cæsar arrived in Transalpine Gaul, only its southern part, the country about the mouths of the Rhone, had been conquered and constituted as a province; but Cæsar was determined to conquer the whole country, for which its invasion by the Germans and a migration of the *Helvetii* afforded a welcome pretext. In this he succeeded completely. He was even tempted to invade Germany, though probably for no other object than to strike terror into the natives. In the summer of B.C. 55 he undertook an expedition into Britain, because its inhabitants had supported the Gauls against him, and because he was invited by a British prince who had been deprived of his throne by a usurper. The Britons offered a vigorous resistance, and although he gained a victory over them, he was compelled by the late season of the year to return to Gaul. In the following year he invaded the island a second time, and advanced to the north of the Thames, conquering the greater part of Essex and Middlesex. After having defeated the natives several times, he concluded peace with them, on condition that they should pay an annual tribute and give hostages. Cæsar then returned to Gaul; but as he was unable to leave behind any troops to keep the conquered part in subjection, the promises of the Britons were soon forgotten or neglected. The war in Gaul was then continued with great vigour, and not without great difficulties and losses.

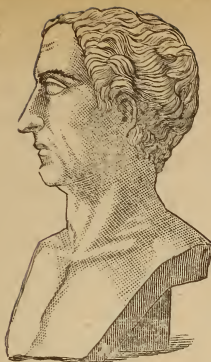
In B.C. 50 Cæsar returned to Cisalpine Gaul, leaving the greater part of his army in Transalpine Gaul. The men who had served under him for so many years were

attached to him in the highest degree, and his extraordinary exploits had everywhere created the greatest admiration of his genius and skill.

In the meantime Pompey had neglected nothing to increase his popularity. After the fall of Crassus, the Roman republic was virtually governed by Cæsar and Pompey. The former, during his wars in Gaul, had kept up an active correspondence with his friends at Rome; and his partisans, *Clodius*, *Curio*, and others, received enormous bribes from him. Their proceedings had sometimes been of a most turbulent and violent kind. The Roman aristocracy, alarmed at the increasing influence of Cæsar, again began to look upon Pompey as the man who alone could save them from the machinations of the popular party. In B.C. 51, *Claudius Marcellus*, one of the principal nobles, proposed that Cæsar should be recalled and a successor appointed; no opportunity was, in fact, overlooked, for hurting or insulting him. The time seemed at last to have come when the optimates thought it necessary to resort to energetic measures; and the senate passed a decree, peremptorily demanding of Cæsar to disband his army by a certain day, and declaring him a public enemy if he should refuse to do so. Two tribunes had in vain opposed the decree, and demanded that Pompey should likewise resign his power and disband his armies; but not being listened to, and pretending that their lives were not safe, they fled to Cæsar, who was stationed at Ravenna, with only a small part of his forces, and called upon him to proceed to Rome as the avenger of the tribunician power. Pompey and the optimates had the fullest confidence in their resources, and even the most necessary precautions were neglected.



VESTAL VIRGIN.



BUST OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN POMPEY AND CÆSAR, DOWN
TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

B.C. 49 TO B.C. 31.

THE fugitive tribunes found Cæsar at Ravenna. Having heard the report of what was going on at Rome, he hesitated for a moment, as to whether he should cross the Rubicon, a little stream which separated his province from Italy. When he had made up his mind, he called out, "The die is cast," and having sent orders for the legions in Gaul to follow him, he crossed the river with his small force. Accompanied by his veterans, who were devoted to him, he hastened southward, hoping to surprise his enemies before they had completed their preparations; and all the towns on his route readily opened their gates to him. Pompey, who was roused too late from his feeling of security, had not the courage to await the arrival of his opponent at Rome; but with only a few trustworthy soldiers, an army of hastily-levied and untrained recruits, and accompanied by a large number of the optimates, he fled to Brundi-

sium, and on the approach of Cæsar crossed the Adriatic with his followers. He must now have seen the folly of his belief, that he only needed to stamp the ground with his foot to call forth legions. Cæsar, not having a fleet at his command, returned to Rome. All Italy joined him, and he displayed extraordinary kindness and affability, though he acted as if he had been the sovereign of the republic. He took possession of the treasury, and leaving Pompey to his fate, at once proceeded to Spain against Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey. By his astonishing rapidity and military skill, he compelled them, in a battle near Illda, to surrender. The commanders were dismissed unhurt, and the army was disbanded. On his return he had to force Massilia, which desired to remain neutral; and the city, though taken, was treated with great mildness. Meanwhile, Cæsar's friend Curio, who had been sent into Sicily, took possession of the island; but having crossed into Africa for the purpose of driving out the friends of Pompey, he was killed by Juba, king of Numidia.

While yet engaged in reducing Massilia, Cæsar was appointed dictator, and in this capacity he returned to Rome; but in order not to hurt the feelings of the republicans too much, he caused himself to be elected consul for the year B.C. 48, and laid down the dictatorship. He hastily passed several measures to secure order and tranquillity in the city, restored the exiles and the children of those who had been proscribed by Sulla, conferred the franchise upon the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and took some other measures of an urgent nature. As soon as these necessary arrangements were completed, he sailed across the Adriatic in pursuit of Pompey, who had in the meantime gathered troops, ships, and supplies of every kind from all parts of the East, so that in point of numbers he was greatly superior to his adversary. Cæsar besieged Pompey at Dyrrhachium, but with so little success that he had to raise the siege. However, instead of despairing, he boldly marched across the mountains into Thessaly, and Pompey, imagining that he

had taken to flight, followed him in all haste, in the hope of putting an end to the war by a single blow. Cæsar had pitched his camp near *Pharsalus*, and Pompey, urged on by his inexperienced and presumptuous followers, fought the famous battle in which his army was completely defeated. His camp, filled with every kind of luxury, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Pompey himself, seized with despair, fled to Egypt, where he had some reason to expect a kindly reception; but the king of Egypt, hoping to secure the favour of Cæsar, ordered him to be murdered, even before he reached the shore, and his body was left unburied on the beach.

A few days later, Cæsar, with a small force, arrived in Egypt, and the sad end of his rival is said to have brought tears into his eyes. The Egyptian king, however, did not receive the expected reward; for Cæsar, being called upon to act as mediator between him and his sister, *Cleopatra*, decided in favour of the beautiful and fascinating Cleopatra. This decision involved him in a war with the people of *Alexandria*, during which he, with his small force, was exposed to the greatest danger. But he defended himself in the royal palace with wonderful skill against the infuriated populace, and when the palace was set on fire, he only escaped by swimming to a ship anchored near the coast. Reinforcements, however, having arrived, Alexandria was compelled to surrender, and as the king had been drowned in the Nile during the disturbances, Cleopatra was now the recognised queen of Egypt, and Cæsar remained at her court for nine months, during which he appears to have forgotten everything in the luxuries of her court. But when at last he was informed that Pharnaces, the son of Mithradates, in his attempt to extend his kingdom, had defeated a Roman legate, Cæsar, in the spring of B.C. 47, marched into Pontus, and defeated Pharnaces in a decisive battle near Zela. This victory is famous for the laconic despatch which Cæsar sent to Rome about it—"I came, saw, conquered."

In the autumn of B.C. 47, Cæsar hastened back to Rome, where he was received with the greatest enthu-

siasm by the senate and people, and so many honours and powers were showered upon him that in point of fact he was made the sovereign of the republic, which was in a great measure the result of his mildness and clemency towards his former opponents. The remnants of Pompey's party had in the meantime gathered their scattered forces in Africa, where they were supported by King Juba. Cæsar, anxious to bring the war against them to a close, stayed only a short time at Rome, to reward his friends by increasing the number of prætors, quæstors, ædiles, and of the members of the priestly colleges. When these and certain conciliatory measures were settled, he proceeded to Africa, where the bloody battle of *Thapsus*, in B.C. 46, decided the fate of the Pompeian party for a time. Fifty thousand dead are said to have covered the field of battle, and many of the survivors put an end to their own lives. Among these latter were *Metellus Scipio*, Pompey's father-in-law; King *Juba*, *Petreius*, and *Cato*, who bled himself to death at Utica, because he could not bear the idea of living in a state which had lost its freedom. *Cneius* and *Sextus*, the two sons of Pompey, escaped into Spain, where afterwards they renewed the war.

Cæsar was now virtually the sole ruler of the Roman empire, and on his return from Africa he silenced all fears and apprehensions by proclaiming a general amnesty, and by assuring his fellow-citizens that his sole object was to restore peace and order. He celebrated four triumphs, and entertained both soldiers and citizens with every kind of public amusement. During his stay at Rome, in B.C. 46, he introduced his celebrated reform of the calendar, which, through the ignorance or caprice of the pontiffs, had fallen into the greatest disorder. Cæsar not only remedied the existing evil, but made regulations to prevent its recurrence; and the calendar, as reformed by him, remained in use until A.D. 1582, when Pope Gregory XIII. introduced another reformed calendar, which is still in use. While Cæsar was thus engaged in Rome, news was brought to him that the sons of Pompey

had collected an army in Spain, and that the south of that country was in a state of insurrection. Accordingly, towards the end of B.C. 46, he set out for Spain, where he had to contend with almost insurmountable difficulties; but his undaunted courage and perseverance overcame them all, and the terrible battle of *Munda*, early in B.C. 45, decided the fate of the Pompeian party for ever. Cneius Pompeius was killed, but Sextus escaped, and for some years led the life of chief of robbers and pirates.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar celebrated another triumph, and was received by the senate with abject flattery and servility. Honours of every kind were showered upon him: he was called "the father of his country;" the month of Quintilis, in which he was born, was called after him Julius (July); the powers which he had received in the course of time were now granted to him for life; he received the permanent title of imperator, the consulship for the next ten years, and the dictatorship for life. These and other powers made him in point of fact the sovereign of the Roman empire, and nothing was wanting but the outward signs of sovereignty. He did indeed observe the ancient republican forms, to allay the fears of the republicans; he allayed the fears of the nobles by increasing the number of senators; he satisfied the soldiers by the distribution of land; he improved the laws and their administration; raised commerce and agriculture; embellished the city with temples and theatres; and benefited all Italy by making roads, canals, and harbours. But with all this he could not overcome the fears of the people, who perceived that he was not satisfied with the substance of sovereign power, but was aiming also at the outward marks and distinctions of a sovereign. The increasing pride of the dictator, and his obvious desire to assume the title of king, at length induced the republicans to make common cause with his personal enemies. A conspiracy accordingly was formed against his life, early in B.C. 44. It was headed by Junius Brutus, a genuine republican, and by Cassius, who bore a personal grudge against

Cæsar. Both had been raised by him to the prætorship and been treated with kindness and confidence, although they had been partisans of Pompey. The plan for murdering Cæsar was formed with the greatest caution and secrecy. He had summoned a meeting of the senate for the 15th of March B.C. 44, at which he was to receive the title of King out of Italy, for the purpose of carrying on a war against the Parthians. When on that day he arrived in the senate, the conspirators rushed upon him with their daggers. At first he attempted to defend himself, but perceiving Brutus among them, he exclaimed, "You too, Brutus?" wrapped himself up in his toga, and sank at the base of Pompey's statue. Thus fell the only man that was then both able and willing to save Rome from civil war, and whose reign might have been the beginning of a tranquil and prosperous era in Roman history.

The conspirators had acted in the belief that their deed would be looked upon as patriotic, and applauded by the whole population; but the little enthusiasm which it created was soon followed by hatred and detestation when Cæsar's friend Antony delivered the funeral oration, in which he set forth in glowing colours the great merits of the dictator, and the liberal gifts which in his will he had bestowed upon the people. The murderers, therefore, to save their own lives, had to quit Rome. Brutus and Cassius went to the East, where provinces had previously been assigned to them; and Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, where he took up his position at *Mutina*. Antony, who caused Cisalpine Gaul to be assigned to himself as his province, at once proceeded to *Mutina* with an army to expel Decimus Brutus. Cicero during that time delivered several speeches against Antony, in consequence of which the senate invested *Julius Cæsar Octavianus*, the adopted son and heir of Cæsar, with the powers of prætor. Octavianus was then only nineteen years old, and, notwithstanding the warnings of his friends, had come to Rome from Apollonia, where he had been studying. Antony had in the meantime been

declared a public enemy, and many of his veteran troops joined Octavianus, who, along with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls of B.C. 43, proceeded to the north against Antony. Antony, after being defeated, fled into Transalpine Gaul, where he was kindly received by the governor Lepidus. The two consuls having fallen in the war of Mutina, the senate entrusted the command of the armies to Decimus Brutus; and Octavianus, enraged at what he considered a slight to himself as well as an insult to the memory of Cæsar, compelled the senate to allow him, notwithstanding his youth, to be elected to the consulship. A law was then passed, declaring the murderers of Cæsar outlaws, and Octavianus again marched to the north. Decimus Brutus took to flight, and was afterwards murdered at Aquileia; but Lepidus and Antony, being exempted from the decree of outlawry, returned to Italy.

Octavianus, *Antony*, and *Lepidus* then met together and assumed the title of triumvirs for regulating the affairs of the state, and distributed the provinces among themselves. Antony and Octavianus, moreover, undertook to carry on the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East. The triumvirs then, without having the excuse of Sulla, imitated his example by drawing up a proscription list, in which each of them entered the names of any persons whom he wished to get rid of. This measure was ostensibly directed against their political opponents, but in many cases persons found themselves among the proscribed, solely on account of their wealth, which the triumvirs coveted. The three then entered Rome with their armies, forced the people to sanction their arrangements, and then let loose their soldiers upon the unarmed citizens. The most illustrious and patriotic men fell under the strokes of the rapacious soldiery, and murder was the order of the day. Two thousand equites and three hundred senators were massacred, and those who could escape fled to Brutus and Cassius, or to Sextus Pompeius, who had in the meantime made himself master of Sicily. Cicero, who had praised Octavianus as the champion of

liberty, and had supported him on all occasions, was one of the many victims ; for in order to please Antony, Octavianus had allowed the name of the great orator to be put on the proscription list, and he was murdered on the 7th of December B.C. 43. His head was taken to Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who feasted her eyes on the dead features of the man who had so unmercifully attacked her husband's reckless and lawless proceedings.

When the triumvirs had wreaked their vengeance upon unhappy Italy by murders and confiscations, Octavianus and Antony sailed to the East to conduct the war against Brutus and Cassius.

Brutus was in his province of Macedonia, where he was recognised as the lawful governor, and had amply provided himself with everything necessary to meet his enemies. Cassius had been very active in Asia Minor and Syria ; and the two republican chiefs, who were masters of nearly all the countries east of the Adriatic, met at Sardes, where they agreed upon their plans of operation. But while they were making preparations, Octavianus and Antony had already subdued Greece, and taken up their quarters at Amphipolis. The republicans pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of *Philippi*, and in the first engagement Cassius was forced to retreat before Antony, while Brutus repelled the legions of Octavianus, who himself took no part in the battle, on the ground of ill health. Soon after, Cassius, misled by false information and despairing of success, threw himself upon his own sword. Twenty days after the first battle, the triumvirs renewed the contest, in which Brutus, being defeated likewise, put an end to his life. His example was followed by many other republicans, and the rest of their soldiers partly surrendered and partly fled to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. The battles of *Philippi*, in the autumn of B.C. 42, finally annihilated the republican party.

The conquerors now made a fresh division of the empire, in which Lepidus obtained Africa, and Antony the eastern provinces, while Octavianus received Italy, where

he satisfied his soldiers by the distribution of land, and the establishment of military colonies on the model of those founded by Sulla. Antony, intoxicated by the flatteries of the Greeks and the luxuries of Asia, entered upon a voluptuous career, bordering upon insanity; and the sums he extorted in Asia were lavished upon Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. His wife *Fulvia*, who loved him most passionately, did everything she could to induce him to return to her. The establishment of the military colonies had thrown thousands of Italians into poverty, and this afforded to *Fulvia* and her brother-in-law *Lucius Antonius*, a fair pretext to come forward as the protectors of the poor and distressed. *Lucius Antonius* was consul in B.C. 41, and, together with *Fulvia* and others, took up a position at *Perusia*, in Etruria, where he proclaimed himself the friend and protector of the poor, and where large numbers flocked to his standards. Towards the end of the year, *Octavianus*, with three armies, commenced operations against them as rebels, and besieged them at *Perusia*. When the place began to suffer from famine, *Lucius Antonius* capitulated, and *Fulvia* was set free on condition that she should quit Italy. All the senators of *Perusia*, however, were put to death; and more than three hundred of its citizens were sacrificed, on the 15th of March B.C. 40, to *Julius Cæsar*. The town of *Perusia* was reduced to ashes, and *Fulvia* went to Greece, where she died soon after.

During the war of *Perusia*, hostilities were on the point of breaking out between Antony and *Octavianus*, and the former actually sailed with his fleet to *Brundisium*, and prevailed on *Sextus Pompeius* to join him; but a reconciliation was brought about, and *Sextus Pompeius* was declared the common enemy of the triumvirs. *Pompeius* now returned to his piratical practices, and prevented supplies from abroad being conveyed to Rome, in consequence of which the citizens began to suffer from famine. The people loudly complained, and demanded of the triumvirs to come to some arrangement with him. A peace was therefore concluded with him in B.C. 39, in

which he was recognised as the governor of Sicily. Antony now married Octavia, the noble-minded sister of Octavianus, and proceeded to Greece, where for a time he lived as a private person. Pompeius, who justly considered himself wronged by Antony, not altogether abstaining from piracy, afforded Octavianus a fair pretext for undertaking a war against him. It was commenced in B.C. 38, but with no great success, until, in B.C. 36, Octavianus entrusted the command of the fleet to his friend *Agrippa*, who was supported by the fleets of Antony and Lepidus. But even now no impression was made on Pompeius, until he was defeated in the great battle of Mylæ. His land army surrendered to the conquerors, but he himself fled into Asia, where soon after he was murdered. Lepidus, who appears to have been a man of no great talent or energy, was sent to Rome, where he lived as pontifex maximus until B.C. 12.

The Roman empire was now in the hands of Antony and Octavianus. In the year B.C. 40 a war had broken out with the Parthians, who had invaded Syria. The war was at first conducted very successfully by Antony's lieutenants, but in B.C. 37 Antony himself hastened to Syria to undertake the command in person. Although he had a large army, and was supported by the king of Armenia, the Parthian king Phraates, attacking him in Media, nearly annihilated his legions, and gained possession of all his ammunition and provisions. Antony himself escaped and returned to Alexandria in Egypt, where he forgot himself and everything else in the pleasures of the court. He not only gave to Cleopatra several provinces of the empire, but went so far as to celebrate a triumph at Alexandria, and to divorce his wife Octavia. Octavianus felt himself insulted in the person of his sister, and the Romans generally began to feel ashamed of Antony's conduct. At length, in B.C. 32, war was declared against the queen of Egypt; and early in the following year the fleet of Octavianus, commanded by Agrippa, appeared in the Adriatic, while Octavianus, with his army, landed in Epirus.

Antony, accompanied by Cleopatra, assembled his forces at Corcyra; and on the 2d of September B.C. 31, the memorable sea fight off the promontory of *Actium*, in *Acarnania*, commenced. Its issue was at first doubtful; but Cleopatra, losing hope, took to flight; and Antony, following her, proceeded to Alexandria, leaving his fleet and army to their fate. The fleet was soon destroyed by Agrippa; and the land army, finding itself abandoned by its commander, surrendered to Octavianus. The moderation displayed by Octavianus towards his vanquished enemies excited general admiration. Soon after his victory, in commemoration of which the town of *Nicopolis* was founded opposite *Actium*, he followed the fugitives to Alexandria. Cleopatra, on his arrival, tried to charm him as she had charmed Cæsar and Antony. But she did not succeed; and Antony being prematurely informed of her death, killed himself, B.C. 30; and Cleopatra soon after put an end to her existence, it is said, by putting a viper to her breast. By her death the race of the *Ptolemys* became extinct, and Egypt was made a Roman province. In the spring of B.C. 39, Octavianus returned to Rome, where the Temple of Janus was closed, a sign that peace was restored throughout the Roman empire, of which Octavianus was now the undisputed master.



MARCUS BRUTUS.



THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN 'OF AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 31 TO A.D. 14

THE revolutionary period was now closed ; and after the fearful scenes through which Rome had passed ever since the time of the Gracchi, it was a real blessing for the empire now to be governed by a ruler really desirous to restore peace, order, and prosperity to his country. The thinking part of the Roman population must have arrived at the conviction that a republican government had become an impossibility. But Octavianus was nevertheless very careful to preserve the republican forms, such as the meetings of the popular assembly and of the senate ; he also avoided giving offence by assuming the title of king or dictator, so that, notwithstanding his extraordinary powers, he was apparently only a republican magistrate. The great mass of unthinking Romans cared neither for republic nor monarchy, and were satisfied if well provided with bread and amusements.

When Octavianus, in B.C. 39, returned from the East, the senate and the people vied with each other in their servility and adulation. Two years later he received the title of *Augustus*, that is, the Venerable, a title which was afterwards assumed by all the Roman emperors. To

the title of Augustus was added that of Imperator (emperor) for ten years, which, however, was afterwards renewed from time to time; and by it he obtained the supreme command of all the forces of the empire. In B.C. 23 he received the powers of a tribune for life, whereby his person became sacred and inviolate, and obtained the right to convene the senate whenever he pleased, and to put his veto upon any of its decrees. In this manner he acquired in a few years all the powers which had hitherto belonged to the several republican magistrates, though the consulship and the other high offices were as usual nominally conferred upon others, and continued to be looked upon as high distinctions coveted by the first men of the state. In his capacity of censor, Augustus directed his attention first to the clearing of the senate of unworthy members, and limited their number to 600. In the course of time, however, the senate became a sort of state council and supreme court of justice, which had to try all offences against the majesty of the emperor. He was supported in his administration of the empire by a number of able men, such as Agrippa, Mæcenas, Valerius Messalla, and Asinius Pollio.

Augustus bestowed especial care upon the better administration of the city, where hitherto life and property had been anything but safe. In order to have complete control over the city as well as Italy, he distributed the former into fourteen regions, and the latter into a number of districts or provinces. For his own safety he established a body-guard of ten cohorts, three of which were stationed in the city, and the remaining seven in different parts of Italy; but in the reign of his successor Tiberius, they were all collected in a fortified camp close to the city. In regard to the provinces, the administration of which he greatly improved, he made an arrangement, in B.C. 27, by which some were assigned to the senate, and some to himself, reserving for himself those which still required the presence of a military force. The governors of the senatorial provinces were appointed by the senate

while the emperor nominated those of the provinces reserved to himself. The revenues of the senatorial provinces went into the state treasury, but those of the imperial provinces belonged to the emperor's separate treasury.

He further bestowed great attention upon the moral and social improvement of the people, as, for example, by encouraging marriage, which had almost fallen into disuse; and nothing in fact was neglected that might increase the material prosperity of his subjects. Notwithstanding the mildness with which Augustus exercised the sovereignty, and notwithstanding his anxiety to conceal the fact that he was the absolute ruler of the empire, conspiracies against his life were formed from time to time, frightened by which he was always on his guard against any unforeseen attack, especially during the latter part of his reign.

Being more concerned about securing the frontiers of his vast empire than about extending them, he proceeded, in B.C. 27, to the north of Spain, for the purpose of subduing the Astures and Cantabri. He carried on the war against them for three years, until in the end those brave mountaineers were compelled to submit, B.C. 24. The Cantabri, however, again revolted, and were not finally subdued till B.C. 19, when they were completely defeated by Agrippa. The Atlantic thus became the frontier of the empire in the west; in Africa the frontiers of Egypt were secured by victories over the Ethiopians and other tribes. In B.C. 20, the Parthian king, fearing a war with Rome, thought it advisable to send back the standards which had fallen into his hands during the campaigns of Crassus and Antony. The existence of several independent tribes in the eastern parts of the Alps was thought to endanger the frontiers of the empire. Accordingly, a war was commenced against them in B.C. 25, which was continued for many years, until, in B.C. 13, they too were completely subdued. The war against these tribes alarmed the Gauls and the inhabitants of Southern Germany; and as bands of the

latter nation invaded Gaul, the alarm created at Rome was so great that, in B.C. 16, Augustus himself, at the head of an army, entered Gaul; but after an absence of three years, he returned to Rome, leaving the command of the army on the Rhine to his step-son Drusus, who, until then, had been conducting the war against the Alpine tribes, in conjunction with his brother Tiberius.

There now began a series of dangerous and disastrous wars with the Germans on the east of the Rhine. The object was not so much to make conquests in Germany as to humble and weaken that nation, because it was regarded as a dangerous neighbour of Gaul. When Drusus undertook the command, in B.C. 12, he resolved to conquer the part of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe. He made several expeditions against that part of Germany, and endeavoured to secure his conquests by building the fortress of Aliso near the sources of the river Lippe. In B.C. 9 he advanced as far as the Elbe, but want of provisions compelled him to return; and on his journey southward he fell from his horse, injuring himself so severely, that a month later he died.

Drusus was succeeded by his brother Tiberius, who, intending to complete what his brother had commenced, crossed the Rhine in B.C. 8; but he was unable to subdue the west of Germany, although he displayed great skill and bravery. After various undertakings by his successor, none of which secured any permanent results, Tiberius, in A.D. 4, resumed the command of the legions on the Rhine; and, partly by successful battles, and partly by prudent negotiations, subdued the country between the Rhine and the Weser, which was then constituted as a Roman province. Peace being thus restored in that part of Germany, Tiberius was called away by a great insurrection of the tribes inhabiting the country between the Danube and the Adriatic. The war against them lasted for two years, until in A.D. 9, the fall of their strong fortress decided the fate of the insurgents.

In the meantime the work of Romanising Western Germany was going on satisfactorily; but the avarice and

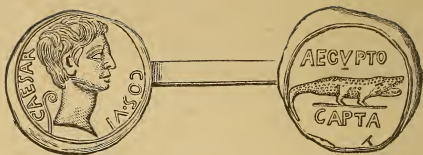
haughty insolence of the governor Quintilius Varus roused the indignation of the Germans, and a conspiracy was formed against him by *Arminius*, a Cheruscan chief. His tribe was soon joined by others, and Varus, though warned of the danger, allowed himself with a large force to be drawn into an ambuscade, and a battle ensued in the forest of Teutoburg, which lasted for three days, and ended in so complete a defeat of Varus, that the ground was covered with the dead bodies of the Romans. The survivors were sold as slaves, the standards were lost, and Varus in despair threw himself upon his own sword. The Germans looked, and still look, upon *Arminius* as the great deliverer of their country from the yoke of the Romans. Augustus, on receiving intelligence of this disaster, is said to have been seized with rage and despair. The fortress of Aliso having been destroyed during the war, the Romans, unable to maintain themselves on the eastern bank of the Rhine, henceforth confined themselves to protecting the left bank of the river.

The most important event which marks the reign of Augustus, is the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. The reign of Augustus, or more correctly the period from the death of Sulla to that of Augustus, forms the golden age of Roman literature. The Latin language then reached its highest development, and the greatest poets, orators, and historians belong to that period. The private life of Augustus was greatly disturbed during his later years by domestic misfortunes. His promising grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the sons of his daughter Julia by Agrippa, died in early youth, not without a suspicion that they had been poisoned by their stepmother, Livia, who was anxious to secure the succession to Tiberius, her son by a former marriage. Augustus's daughter Julia, a licentious woman, caused her father so much sorrow and vexation that he found it necessary to banish her. Augustus died on the 19th of August A.D. 14, at Nola, in Campania, whither he had gone to restore his enfeebled health; and immediately afterwards Agrippa Postumus, the last son of Julia by Agrippa, was assassinated to

prevent his putting forth any claims against Tiberius. The latter, therefore, now succeeded his step-father without any difficulty, and the imperial dignity remained in the same family until Nero, who was the last of the line, for after his death the imperial throne was generally filled by the choice of the soldiers.



COINS OF THE TRIUMVIRS, M. ANTONIVS AND LEPIDVS.



A MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS TO THAT OF NERO.

A.D. 14 TO A.D. 68.

WE have already seen that *Tiberius* greatly distinguished himself in several wars, and nothing is recorded during that period of his life to suggest that he would be the cruel tyrant he turned out to be. During the first six years of his reign, things went on pretty well, at all events, he succeeded in concealing the viciousness of his character. But after the year A.D. 20, when he came under the influence of his friend *Ælius Seianus*, he commenced a series of revolting atrocities. It was on the advice of *Seianus* that, in A.D. 23, the prætorian cohorts were drawn together into a fortified camp close to Rome, a step which at once changed the government into a military despotism, for henceforth the emperor always had a large body of troops at his command, ready to do his bidding. Hitherto the people had been allowed to assemble in their comitia, and to make laws in the ancient form; but *Tiberius* abolished those assemblies, transferring their functions to the senate, which, in its servile submissiveness, was ready to do or sanction anything that might please the despot. One of the chief functions of

the senate henceforth was to try all cases of high treason against the person of the emperor; and every one was considered guilty of high treason who by speech, deed, or writing, offended the emperor. Such a system raised a host of spies and informers, who stifled every honest expression of opinion, and extinguished the last spark of freedom, while they increased the tyrant's fears and cruelty. During that period the government was virtually in the hands of Seianus; and Tiberius, in order to indulge his sensual and licentious habits free from all restraint, withdrew, in A.D. 26, from the city, and took up his abode in the island of Capreae, in the Bay of Naples. The period of his absence from Rome was the most terrible part of his reign, for Seianus now ruled without any control whatever. His ambition was to secure the succession to himself, and for this purpose he planned the extermination of the entire family of his sovereign. He had already poisoned Drusus, the only son of Tiberius; and he now sent Agrippina and her three sons into exile, and afterwards got rid of them by starvation or otherwise. *Caius* (afterwards the emperor Caligula), the youngest of the sons of Agrippina by Germanicus, was the only one that escaped. At length, when he thought that all obstacles were removed, he sued for the hand of the widow of Drusus. He had acted in this matter with the greatest caution and secrecy, but it nevertheless reached the ears of Tiberius, who now wrote a letter to the senate accusing Seianus of high treason, and demanding his execution. The order was carried into effect at once, A.D. 31, to the great delight of the Roman people, and Tiberius wreaked his vengeance on all the friends and relatives of Seianus. The experience which the emperor had made with Seianus filled his soul still more with suspicions, and he became still more cruel than before. His health had been ruined by his debauched life; and when he felt his end approaching, though he carefully concealed his condition, he resolved to return to Rome. But he was so universally detested that Macro, the successor of Seianus, in conjunction with

Caius, the son of Agrippina, resolved to get rid of the aged tyrant. While staying at a villa near Cape Misenum, Tiberius fell into a death-like state, and some persons of his suite, believing him to be dead, proclaimed Caius emperor. But Tiberius recovered, and as both Macro and Caius feared his vengeance, they caused him to be suffocated between beds and pillows, A.D. 37.

As regards the affairs of the empire, a great insurrection broke out, in the very year of Tiberius's accession, among the legions on the Rhine and in Pannonia. The soldiers on the Rhine demanded that Germanicus should assume the imperial dignity, instead of Tiberius; but Germanicus was generous enough to quiet the soldiers and decline the offer. The revolt of the troops in Pannonia was quelled by prudent concessions. Germanicus now penetrated into that part of Germany which had been lost through the misconduct of Varus. Arminius again roused his countrymen to a vigorous resistance against the common enemy; but, owing to the superior tactics of the Romans and the prudence of Germanicus, the Germans were defeated in two battles. Tiberius had meanwhile become jealous of the success and popularity of Germanicus; who, in A.D. 16, was recalled, and sent to the East, where he died, at Antioch, A.D. 19. The Germans on the right bank of the Rhine were now left for a time without further molestation. The most memorable event during the reign of Tiberius was the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, according to the common chronology, A.D. 33. We may also mention a fearful earthquake, by which many flourishing cities in Asia were reduced to heaps of ruins; and the great catastrophe at Fidenæ, where a temporary wooden amphitheatre fell in during a gladiatorial exhibition, which had drawn together vast multitudes of people, for no less than 20,000 persons were killed, A.D. 27.

Tiberius was succeeded by *Caius*, commonly called *Caligula*, who reigned from A.D. 37 to A.D. 41. As he resembled his noble-minded father Germanicus in appearance, it was generally hoped that he had also inherited his

father's virtues ; and during the first eight months of his reign such hopes seemed to be justified. But he was then seized by a sudden illness, from which he indeed recovered, but his conduct was so much altered that henceforth he cannot be regarded in any other light than that of a madman. We need not here enter into the disgusting details of his reign ; suffice it to say that he acted as a bloodthirsty tyrant, who took a delight in signing death warrants, and witnessing the agonies of his victims ; he squandered the public treasures upon the gratification of his lusts and the erection of absurd buildings ; he celebrated ridiculous triumphs over Germans and Britons, whom he had never encountered in battle, and ordered himself to be worshipped as a god. By his excesses he impoverished the provinces, as well as the state treasury ; he was a low and vulgar sensualist, whose favourite companions were actors, gladiators, and other persons of the most despised classes. A conspiracy was formed against him as early as A.D. 39, but it was discovered, and its authors were put to death. Another plot was concocted by some officers of the prætorian guards, and in A.D. 41 he was murdered in his own palace, while attending a rehearsal of some actors. His wife and daughters were likewise put to death, and during the tumult, the murderers dragged forth *Claudius*, a son of Drusus and Antonia, who from fear had concealed himself, but was now proclaimed emperor.

The life of Claudius had been spared during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula, merely because he was despised and looked upon as an idiot. The treatment which he had received from his own family had intimidated him and made him a coward. His favourite pursuits were the study of history and antiquities, and he himself wrote several historical works ; but while he occupied himself with such things, his freedmen and favourites governed the empire, exercising unlimited influence over him, and his wife Messalina scorned every law of decency and morality. It was at the instigation of such advisers, that Claudius ordered the execution of some of the best

men of the age, and the licentiousness of his court was imitated by the higher classes, especially the ladies. Messalina even went so far as publicly to marry a handsome young Roman. But this step at last opened her husband's eyes, and, frightened by such a shameless proceeding, he ordered her to be put to death, and then married Agrippina, a talented and ambitious woman, but scarcely less licentious than Messalina had been. Her great ambition was to get rid of Claudius's children by Messalina, and to secure the succession to her own son Nero, by a former husband. But when Claudius discovered her scheme, she, in fear of her life, caused him to be poisoned, A.D. 54.

The reign of Claudius, so far as he was not influenced by women and freedmen, was mild and popular. He was fond of building, and executed or completed some very useful works ; thus he deepened the harbour at Ostia, and drained Lake Fucinus, by constructing an immense tunnel through which the waters of the lake were led into the river Liris. Notwithstanding the general corruption of the age, the Roman arms under Claudius and his successors gained many a victory abroad. Thus in A.D. 50, a successful war was begun against the Parthians, who had invaded Armenia. In north-western Germany *Corbulo*, one of Claudius's generals, was very successful against the Germans, and might have made that country a Roman province, had he not been ordered by the emperor to confine his operations to the left bank of the Rhine. The reign of Claudius is further remarkable, because it was then that the Romans made permanent conquests in Britain ; for in A.D. 43, an army invaded the island, and Claudius, after paying himself a short visit to it, left the command of his troops in the hands of his lieutenants, who continued the war for nine years. It was during this war that *Vespasian* and his son *Titus*, both of whom afterwards became emperors, first distinguished themselves. The south-eastern part of Britain was finally conquered by the Romans, and constituted a Roman province in A.D. 44.

Soon after the murder of Claudius, *Nero*, who was then only seventeen years old, was proclaimed emperor. He had been educated by the philosopher Seneca, and Burrus, an officer of the prætorian guards, and was a young man not without talent ; but the corrupt and licentious court, the adulation of the senate, and the servility of the people, exercised their baneful influence. During the first five years of his reign, probably owing to the controlling influence of his teachers, things went on very fairly ; but when Nero began to quarrel with his ambitious mother, who not only wanted to interfere in the government, but even threatened to raise Britannicus, a son of Claudius, to the throne, the vicious propensities of Nero burst forth at once. He now first caused the murder of Britannicus, and attempted to drown his mother by means of a boat, constructed in such a manner that it should go to pieces when on the water ; but as she saved herself by swimming, he ordered her to be assassinated, and this horrid deed was not censured by either Seneca or Burrus. Under the influence of contemptible women, Nero now hurried from one crime to another ; and after the removal of Burrus from the court in A.D. 62, he threw off all restraint : he banished his wife Octavia to a lonely island, where she was murdered, and then married Poppæa Sabina, the adulterous wife of Salvius Otho, who was afterwards raised to the throne. A few years later, a fearful fire broke out at Rome, which lasted for six days, and reduced the greater part of the city to ashes. It was reported that this conflagration was the work of Nero himself, who wished to see a vivid picture of the burning of Troy. But he charged the Christians, who then formed only an obscure sect, with having caused the conflagration, and cruelly persecuted them. It is commonly said that the apostles Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom on that occasion. Nero then ordered the city to be rebuilt with greater magnificence than ever, and for himself he built what was called the "golden house," on the Palatine hill. Although these things could be done only by an arbitrary and despotic ruler, yet the vast Roman populace

was kept in good humour by being fed and amused with the plunder of the provinces.

A dangerous conspiracy was formed against Nero, in A.D. 65, by Piso; but it was discovered, and Piso himself, the poet Lucan, and many others, had to pay for the attempt with their lives. Seneca, who was suspected of being an accomplice, put an end to his existence by opening his veins. His next victims were his own wife, Poppæa Sabina, whom he killed in a brutal fit of passion, and Antonia, a daughter of Claudius, whom he ordered to be murdered, because she refused to marry him. Every honest and virtuous person now became an object of fear and hatred to the tyrant. In A.D. 67 Nero went to Greece, and there took part as a player on the lyre in the great national games, distinguishing himself by the grossest follies and cruelties. Soon after his return an insurrection broke out in Gaul, which had been fearfully oppressed by its governors. It was headed by *Julius Vindex*, who offered the sovereignty to *Servius Galba*, the governor of Spain, who was at once proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. The prætorians at Rome, following their example, likewise proclaimed him emperor. Nero, now abandoned by all, took to flight; and on being discovered, inflicted a wound on himself, of which he died, A.D. 68. He was the last survivor of the family of Augustus, and henceforth the prætorians or the legions in the provinces assumed the right of electing the emperor.

During the reign of Nero the Parthians succeeded in gaining possession of Armenia, but Corbulo, a most able general, in a long protracted war, recovered the whole of that country; under his successor, however, it was lost again. Germany was tolerably quiet under Nero; but in Britain a great insurrection broke out, in B.C. 61, in consequence of the fearful rapacity and oppression of the Roman governor. The Britons, headed by their queen, Boadicea, annihilated a whole Roman legion, and destroyed several Roman colonies. But the governor Paulinus, on his return from the island of Mona, where he was

engaged at the beginning of the insurrection, defeated the Britons in a great battle, in which 80,000 of them are said to have been killed. Boadicea then put an end to her life, and peace was concluded. Another rebellion, likewise the result of oppression, broke out among the Jews during Nero's stay in Greece. At first the Roman army was defeated, and then the command against them was given to Vespasian, whose exploits there we shall have to notice hereafter.



STATUE OF CALIGULA



COIN OF CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF NERO TO THAT OF DOMITIAN.

A.D. 68 TO A.D. 96.

Servius Galba, on being informed that he had been proclaimed emperor, and that the choice was sanctioned by the senate, hastened to Rome, accompanied by *Salvius Otho*, the contemptible husband of Poppæa Sabina. The soldiers to whom he owed the throne expected to be richly rewarded by him; but in this they were disappointed; and as he also attempted to restore discipline among them, *Salvius Otho* formed a conspiracy against him, and he was murdered while crossing the Forum, at the beginning of A.D. 69, after a reign of scarcely eight months; and his son, who had been looked upon as his successor, was likewise killed.

The prætorians now proclaimed *Salvius Otho*, and their choice was again sanctioned by the senate. He began his reign by punishing some of the persons who had made themselves most obnoxious during the reign of Nero. But he had scarcely entered upon his functions, when he was informed that the legions stationed on the Rhine had conferred the imperial dignity upon their own commander *Vitellius*, who at once sent an army across the Alps; and in a great battle near Bedriacum, gained

so decisive a victory over Otho as to drive him to despair and suicide, in April A.D. 69. Otho's army surrendered to Vitellius, who was now the undisputed master of the empire. Vitellius was a man of low tastes, and given to coarse sensual pleasures; he did not trouble himself much about the duties of his office, but allowed the prætorians to act as they pleased with impunity. Such conduct excited general indignation against him; and the legions in several provinces renounced their allegiance. *Vespasian*, who was carrying on the war against the Jews with great success, was proclaimed emperor by the legions that were discontented with the reign of Vitellius. He therefore left the continuation of the siege of Jerusalem to his son *Titus*, and at once prepared for war against Vitellius. *Antonius Primus*, a staunch supporter of *Vespasian*, advanced with his army across the Alps, and met that of Vitellius near *Bedriacum*, where the latter was completely defeated. The victorious army then proceeded to Rome, where a frightful massacre took place in the streets, for Vitellius was forsaken by all parties except the prætorians and the Roman populace, who murdered *Sabinus*, a brother of *Vespasian*, in his flight to the Capitol. The splendid Capitoline Temple was destroyed on that occasion by fire. The prætorian camp, in which Vitellius had taken refuge, soon fell into the hands of the partisans of *Vespasian*; and Vitellius was cruelly murdered in December A.D. 69, after a reign of scarcely eight months.

While these things were going on in Italy, *Vespasian* was still in the East, and the affairs at Rome were managed by his son *Domitian*, who succeeded in taming the prætorians. The new emperor, who did not arrive at Rome until A.D. 70, was just the man whom Rome required at the time. He immediately set about restoring the discipline among the troops, excluded unworthy men from the senate, watched over the administration of justice, stopped the trials for high treason, and thereby suppressed the detestable class of informers. He was economical in the management of the finances, though he

was liberal when money was required for the public good, or for the embellishment of the city. Thus enormous sums were spent upon the restoration of the Capitoline Temple, and on the building of the great amphitheatre, known by the name of the *Colosseum*, which, even in its present ruined state, is one of the grandest structures in Europe. His own example did much to put an end to the licentiousness of the higher classes, and made the senate what it had never been before—an assemblage of the most illustrious men, taken not only from Italy, but from any of the provinces. He was not a man of any great culture, and he had as great a dislike to philosophers as to the extravagant luxuries of his time. In A.D. 74 he expelled all philosophers and astrologers from the city. He hated the Christians, whom he confounded with the Jews, and regarded philosophers as audacious republicans and speculators. In consequence of such one-sided views, several distinguished and noble-minded Stoic philosophers were exiled or put to death.

We have already seen that Vespasian, in A.D. 67, was sent by Nero to conduct the war against the Jews, who had been goaded into a rebellion by the cruelty and insolence of their Roman governor. The Jews fought with the courage of despair, but, after fearful defeats and losses, were confined to the defence of Jerusalem, in which they were besieged by Vespasian. After his elevation to the imperial dignity, the siege of *Jerusalem* was continued by his son Titus. The city suffered terribly from famine and epidemic diseases, multitudes from all parts of the country being crowded together within its walls. It was in vain that Titus offered to spare the people, if they would lay down their arms; and when at length the city was taken, the Jews defended themselves in the Temple, until that venerable and magnificent building became a prey to the flames. The city was then destroyed, and upwards of a million of Jews are said to have perished. The survivors lost their independence for ever; and as they were forbidden to rebuild their city, they dispersed over the whole Roman empire. The tri-

amphal arch of Titus at Rome still bears witness to that terrible catastrophe.

A great insurrection of the *Batavi*, headed by Civilis, had broken out even before Vespasian's arrival in Rome. Their example was followed by other neighbouring tribes, but they were overpowered one after another by the vigour and energy of Cerealis; and in A.D. 70 they had to sue for peace. The year after this, Cerealis was appointed governor of Britain, and was accompanied thither by *Agricola*, the son-in-law of the great historian Tacitus. Six years later, *Agricola* himself obtained the governorship of Britain, a post which he filled, until A.D. 85, with great benefit to the natives and honour to himself. During this period, all England and the south of Scotland were conquered; and *Agricola* was the first who, by circumnavigating Britain, established the fact that it was an island.

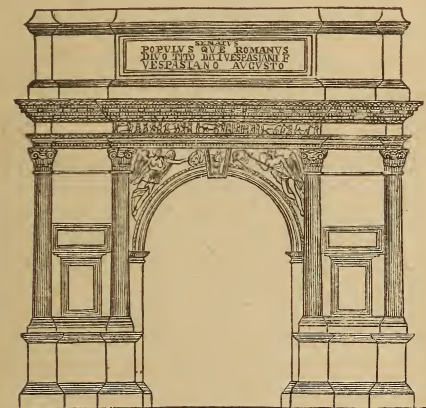
Towards the end of Vespasian's life a conspiracy was formed against him, for, notwithstanding his general good character, he was occasionally guilty of acts of great cruelty. But the conspiracy was discovered, and its authors were put to death. Soon after this he was taken ill, and died in June A.D. 79.

Vespasian was succeeded by his son, *Titus*, who had latterly governed the empire in conjunction with his father. During his short reign, which lasted only till the month of September A.D. 81, the people at first entertained considerable apprehensions, as he had been guilty of several acts of cruelty; but after his accession he displayed such an amount of kindness and benevolence that he was called by the title of "the love and delight of mankind," and he had plenty of opportunities of showing his benevolence in action. A few months after his accession a fearful eruption of Mount Vesuvius destroyed and buried under burning lava and ashes the towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae, and Titus is said to have spent nearly the whole of his property in relieving the sufferings of those who escaped from the catastrophe. The year after, a fire broke out at Rome, which raged for

three days, destroying the finest parts of the city; and soon after this calamity a fearful pestilence broke out, carrying off thousands of people in all parts of Italy. The last year of Titus's reign is marked by the inauguration of the Colosseum, which had been commenced by his father, and by the building of the *Thermæ*, or Baths, which bear his name. After his death, in September A.D. 81, all Romans mourned as over the death of a father. During his reign the frontiers of the empire were not disturbed by foreign aggressions, while *Agriкола* was successfully engaged in the conquest of Britain.

Titus was succeeded by his brother, *Domitian*, who had already become notorious by his tyrannical disposition and many acts of cruelty. At first, however, his conduct was better than his reputation, but after some time he showed himself in his true light as one of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced a throne. Hosts of informers again arose, as in the worst days of his predecessors. In order to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, he increased their pay; and to obtain the means for this and his other extravagances, he had recourse to wholesale confiscations, and wealthy persons were treated as criminals solely that the tyrant might gain possession of their property. He scarcely took pleasure in anything except in the fights of gladiators and in torturing his victims, though he was not devoid of some talent, and even dabbled in literature and poetry. In A.D. 83 he undertook an expedition into Germany, and built the frontier wall between the free Germans and those who were subject to the empire. *Agriкола* was pursuing his victorious career in Britain, but as he thereby excited the jealousy of the emperor, he was recalled, A.D. 85. In the year following, the *Dacians* crossed the Danube, and defeated a Roman army, whereupon *Domitian* himself took the field against them; but as the German tribes allied with Rome refused to support him, he was obliged to purchase peace of the *Dacian* king, A.D. 90. Notwithstanding this, he did not scruple on his return to celebrate a triumph over the *Dacians*, and even assumed

the surname of Dacicus. The humiliation to which he was thus obliged to submit rendered him still more ferocious, and he went so far in his madness as to order himself to be worshipped as "lord and god." The most illustrious men were executed for expressing their honest opinions; the philosophers, one of whom was the celebrated *Epictetus*, were expelled; and the Christians, whose numbers were steadily increasing, were persecuted and murdered without mercy. He intended to put his own wife, Domitia, to death; but she, on being informed of it, headed a conspiracy against him, and he was stabbed in his own bedroom by one of her freedmen, in September A.D. 96.



ARCH OF TITUS, RESTORED.



COIN OF HADRIAN.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE DEATH OF DOMITIAN TO THAT OF MARCUS
AURELIUS.

A.D. 96 TO A.D. 180.

THE five emperors who succeeded one another after Domitian form such a strong contrast to some of the wretched tyrants who had preceded them, that the period of their reign is regarded as the happiest in the history of the Roman empire. Immediately after the murder of Domitian, both the people and the soldiers proclaimed *Nerva*, a venerable senator. But as he was not popular with the prætorians, he was obliged to be cautious in punishing offenders and in recalling the men who had been banished by Domitian; and in order to strengthen himself, he adopted *Trajan*, a man of unblemished character, who was then commanding the legions in Germany. However, he survived this step no more than three months, for he died of a fever in the beginning of A.D. 98.

Trajan, having been adopted by Nerva, succeeded him as a matter of course, and arrived at Rome in A.D. 99. He was a native of Spain, and a man of great military talent. His administration of the affairs of the empire met with the approval of the best of his contemporaries.

He first of all suppressed the class of informers, and punished the most turbulent among the prætorians. He then gave back to the senate its ancient powers, promoted commerce by making new roads, canals, and bridges, and by enlarging the port of Centumcellæ. He was the first emperor who promoted the education of children of both sexes, and adorned not only Rome and Italy, but even the provinces, with temples, triumphal arches, and other ornamental buildings.

In Rome he instituted a public library, and laid out a new Forum, in the centre of which rose the famous column which still exists, representing in its bas-relief his own exploits against the Dacians. He was fond of intellectual society, and honoured such men as Tacitus, the historian, and the younger Pliny. His excellent wife, Plotina, and his sister, Marciana, greatly contributed by their example towards the improvement in the conduct of the higher classes.

Trajan deeply felt the humiliation of being obliged to pay to the Dacians the tribute by which Domitian had purchased their peace, and accordingly, in A.D. 100, he proceeded with a large army to Dacia, defeated its king in several battles, took his capital, and at last granted to the king a peace, on condition that a portion of his territory should be ceded to the empire, A.D. 103. But in the year following, the Dacians again rose in arms, and Trajan, having caused a stone bridge to be built over the Danube, marched into Dacia, and pressed the king so hard that, in A.D. 106, he put an end to his own life. Dacia now became a Roman province, and numerous Roman colonies were established in the country, which soon spread Roman civilisation among the Dacians. On his return to Rome, Trajan erected the above-mentioned column.

In A.D. 114, when the Parthians again threatened the frontiers of the empire, Trajan immediately marched against them. In Armenia he was received by the people with open arms, and their country was made a Roman province. He then conquered Mesopotamia.

subdued Assyria, and even took the capital of the Parthians. After this he proceeded into Arabia, but being taken ill, he left his legate, Hadrian, in the command of his forces, and was hastening to Rome, when death overtook him, in Cilicia, in August A.D. 117. His remains were carried to Rome, and buried under the column in his own Forum.

Meanwhile a report was spread at Rome, through the empress Plotina, that her husband, during his illness, had adopted *Hadrian*, who happened to be at Antioch, where, accordingly, he was proclaimed. He was a native of Pice-num, and connected by marriage with the family of Trajan. He was of a less warlike disposition than his predecessor, and believing that the conquests made in the East would involve the empire in troublesome and dangerous wars, he gave up Mesopotamia and Assyria to the Parthians, and restored Armenia to the rank of an independent kingdom. After settling those affairs in the East, he returned to Rome, A.D. 118, and then marched into Moesia, but not wishing to make conquests, he concluded peace with the barbarians who had invaded that province. While he was thus engaged abroad, a conspiracy was formed against him by his personal enemies. But the plot was discovered, and its authors severely punished. As his severity created an ill feeling, both in the army and at Rome, he returned to Italy, and did everything to conciliate the senate and the people.

When the frontiers of the empire were thus secured on all sides, he undertook, in A.D. 120, a journey through all the provinces of the empire, during which he visited Gaul, Germany, Britain (the northern part of which he secured against the Scots by a wall from the Tyne to the Solway), Greece, Asia, and Egypt, where his favourite Antinous was accidentally drowned in the Nile. During those journeys he left everywhere memorials of his visits, which were intended to defend and strengthen or embellish cities and provinces, for he was a man of high intellectual culture and noble feelings, though vanity and conceit rendered him easily susceptible to flattery.

Towards the end of his life, mistrust and a certain weariness of life sometimes led him to acts of harshness and cruelty. Athens, of which he was particularly fond, was adorned by him with extraordinary splendour; but nowhere did he display his taste for the arts more than in his villa near Tibur, and in his magnificent mausoleum at Rome. A certain kind of literature enjoyed his fostering care, but it was a body without a soul, as it chiefly consisted in grand but hollow phraseology.

In A.D. 133, shortly before Hadrian's return from his travels, a terrible insurrection broke out amongst the Jews, who were exasperated at the establishment of the pagan worship in their country. A desperate war was carried on by them for several years, but in the end they were crushed, and Jerusalem was made a Roman colony, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*; the Jews were forbidden to live in the city or its vicinity, and thousands of them were sold as slaves. During the latter year of his reign, Hadrian lived in retirement; his health had been impaired, and he was so tired of life that he made several attempts at suicide, but at last, in July A.D. 138, he died at *Baiæ*. As Hadrian had no children, he adopted during his illness *Arrius Antoninus*, who in his turn had to adopt *Annius Verus*. During the last three years of his life, Hadrian had committed many acts which excited great discontent, and his adopted son did everything he could to prevent a popular outbreak, whence he obtained the surname of *Pius*—that is, the affectionate or dutiful.

Antoninus Pius, a native of *Nemausus* in Gaul, owed his adoption by Hadrian solely to his virtues. His reign, from A.D. 138 to A.D. 161, forms the happiest period of the Roman empire. He scrupulously adhered to the principles of his predecessor, and used to say that he would rather save the life of a single citizen than slay a thousand enemies; he was beloved throughout the empire more than any sovereign has ever been beloved either before or since. His whole care was bestowed upon the promotion of the peace and happiness of his people, which

he endeavoured to secure by the proper administration of justice, and by educational and charitable institutions. The peace which remained undisturbed during his reign, and his own ardent piety, procured for him the name of a second Numa. The Christians, who were then already very numerous, both at Rome and in the provinces, were not molested in their religious observances. He died, in March A.D. 161, at one of his country villas. Throughout his reign the troops, having been without occupation, had lost their martial spirit, hence when fresh dangers burst in upon the empire under his successors, the armies were not in a condition to meet them.

Antoninus had had two sons, but as they had died before their father, he was succeeded by his adopted son, *Annius Verus*, better known under the name of *Marcus Aurelius*, surnamed the Philosopher, a native of Rome. His education had been conducted with the greatest care, and from his earliest youth he had been distinguished for his love of truth and thirst for knowledge. He was more especially devoted to the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy, which continued to be his favourite study even after he had ascended the imperial throne, though he did not neglect the duties of his high station. But as he was of a delicate constitution, he allowed his adopted brother, *Lucius Verus*, an active young man, to share the sovereign power with him. But *Marcus Aurelius* did not know the vicious qualities of his brother, who, when abroad at the head of his armies, indulged in every kind of debauchery and voluptuousness. *Lucius Verus* set out, in A.D. 162, against the Parthians, who now again began to make inroads into the Roman provinces. On his arrival in the East, he gave himself up to his vicious propensities, leaving the management of the war to his lieutenants, who conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia, so that a peace could be concluded with the Parthians, in which they were obliged to cede Mesopotamia to the Romans.

The northern frontiers of the empire were likewise threatened by a number of German and Sarmatian tribes,

who intended to invade Italy itself, and had already advanced as far as Aquileia. Soon after Verus's return from the East, he and his brother took the field against the barbarians with such overwhelming forces, as to compel the enemies to retreat before them. Lucius Verus died, A.D. 169, of a fit of apoplexy, and Marcus Aurelius now continued the war with great energy. Several great battles were fought, one on the frozen river Danube; and in another, A.D. 174, the Roman army, being surrounded by the barbarians, was saved only by the bursting forth of a violent storm. This unexpected escape of the Romans filled the enemies with such awe, that they sought for peace, which they obtained on condition that they should withdraw beyond the Danube, A.D. 175.

Soon after this, Marcus Aurelius had to quell an insurrection in the East, headed by Avidius Cassius, who had been instigated by the emperor's own wife, Faustina, a daughter of Antoninus Pius. The emperor succeeded in subduing the insurrection, and treated the ringleaders with unparalleled mercy. While he was engaged in this manner in the East, the Germans and Sarmatians renewed their hostilities; Marcus Aurelius marched against them, and was successful in several battles, but before the war could be brought to a close, he died at Sirmium, in March A.D. 180. His son *Commodus*, who had accompanied him in the war, hastened to purchase peace of the barbarians. Marcus Aurelius, notwithstanding the almost uninterrupted wars which disturbed his reign, found leisure to compose a work called "*Meditations*," in which we still see him with all his amiable, affectionate, and devout qualities.





COIN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF COMMODUS.—CONCLUSION.

A.D. 180 TO A.D. 192.

AFTER having purchased peace of the Germans, Commodus hastened to Rome to give himself up to the pleasures and licentiousness of the capital. He was not yet twenty years old, and had received a careful education ; but this, as well as the noble example of his father, was lost upon him. During the first two years, his real character did not appear, and it was hoped that after all he might be better than his reputation. But a conspiracy which his own sister formed against him, in A.D. 183, suddenly produced the most extraordinary change, for the remaining period of his reign was an uninterrupted succession of sanguinary and disgusting excesses. The best friends and advisers of his father were put to death, and Commodus abandoned himself without the slightest sense of shame to the coarsest vices and brutal debaucheries, while the business of the state was left to the lowest and most contemptible creatures. He was a young man of an athletic stature ; his great ambition was to distinguish himself as a gladiator, and to be looked upon as a second Hercules. In A.D. 185 he appointed Cleander, one of his favourite freedmen, prefect of the prætorian guards, but

this act was so distasteful to the people, that the unworthy favourite was literally torn to pieces by the Roman populace. At the time when Commodus was changing the city into a slaughter-house of the best men of the time, Italy was suffering from plague and famine. In A.D. 192 he formed the design of entering the senate house with a band of gladiators, and murdering the consuls and many other persons of high rank. The list he had drawn up of his intended victims fell into the hands of his mistress Marcia, and as she found her own name among them, she anticipated the plot, and, assisted by several others, she caused the monster to be strangled in his bed, on the last day of the year A.D. 192. His death filled Rome with joy, and the senate cursed his memory; the prætorians alone did not join in the general rejoicing, for upon them the treasures of the empire had been most lavishly squandered by Commodus.

Commodus, throughout his reign, had never troubled himself about the interests of the empire, but its integrity had nevertheless been preserved by the valour and activity of his generals, who successfully warded off or repelled the invasions of the barbarians.

The reign of Commodus forms the real beginning of the decline of the Roman empire, and from this time down to its final overthrow, in A.D. 476, we have, with only very few exceptions, a succession of rulers distinguished for tyranny, baseness, and weakness. The prætorian guards henceforth decided the fate of the empire, and exercised a perfect military despotism. As, however, the legions stationed in the provinces did not always approve of or acquiesce in the sovereign chosen by the prætorians, it repeatedly happened that two or more emperors were proclaimed at the same time in different parts of the empire, which of course led to wars among the rival

sovereigns. On one occasion, not long after the death of Commodus, the prætorians went so far as to offer the imperial dignity to the highest bidder. The Christians, notwithstanding the fearful persecutions to which they were exposed under some of the successors of Commodus, steadily continued to become more numerous, until in the reign of Constantine (A.D. 306 to A.D. 337), their numbers and their influence were so great, that Christianity could no longer be suppressed, and became the recognised religion of the empire.

It had long been felt that it was difficult to govern the vast empire from Rome as its central point; at length the emperor Theodosius, shortly before his death in A.D. 395, divided the empire into two parts, the western and the eastern, the Adriatic forming the boundary between them. Rome remained the capital of the West, while Byzantium, which had been much enlarged and embellished by Constantine, became the capital of the East, under the name of Constantinople. In less than a hundred years after this division, the Germans and other barbarians, invading not only the provinces of the western empire, such as Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa, but Italy itself, reduced the Roman sovereigns to such a state of weakness, that at last, in A.D. 476, Odoacer, a chief of the German tribe of the Heruli, after making himself master of Rome, wrote to the emperor of the East, that Rome no longer required an emperor, and demanded for himself the sovereignty of Italy. Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor, readily resigned his dignity, and spent the remainder of his life in private retirement in Campania. The Eastern or Greek empire continued its existence for nearly a thousand years longer, until, in A.D. 1453, it was conquered and overthrown by the Turks.

The change which had come over the west of Europe during the last century of the empire was immense. The ancient civilisation and the ancient religion had died away, paganism had given way to Christianity, and the Roman provinces and Italy had been overrun and conquered by Teutonic tribes, which established themselves

in the conquered countries, formed independent kingdoms, and thus laid the foundations of an entirely new state of things, out of which our modern states and modern civilisation have arisen. The conquerors settling in the various parts of the empire, in the course of time adopted the language, customs, and laws of the Romans, whence the nations of south-western Europe still speak languages which are essentially Latin; and their manners, customs, and even their Christianity, still bear many traces of Roman influence.



COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B.C. 753	Foundation of Rome.
753-716	Romulus. Political institutions.
715-672	Numa Pompilius. Religious institutions.
672-640	Tullus Hostilius. War against Alba. The Horatii and Curiatii. Alba Longa destroyed. Beginnings of the plebs.
640-616	Ancus Marcius. Formation of the plebeian order by the conquest of Latins. Ostia built.
616-578	Tarquinius Priscus attempts reforms, but is thwarted.
578-534	Servius Tullius. Organisation of the plebs, and reforms of the constitution.
534-510	Tarquinius Superbus.
509	Establishment of the republic. First consuls. Conspiracy at Rome. War with Porsenna.
505	War against the Sabines.
501	War with the Latins.
498	T. Larcus, first dictator.
496	Battle of Lake Regillus, in which the Latins are defeated.
495	Death of Tarquinius Superbus. Insurrection of the plebs.
494	Secession of the plebs to the <i>Mons Sacer</i> .
493	Appointment of the tribunes of the plebs. The <i>Ædiles</i> . League of Sp. Cassius with the Latins.
491	Coriolanus stirs up the Volscians against Rome.
486	League of Sp. Cassius with the Hernicans. First attempt at an agrarian law.
485	Sp. Cassius put to death, and his agrarian law disregarded.
477	Defeat of the Fabii on the Cremera.
473	The tribune Genucius murdered.
471	The tribune Publius Volero carries several laws to protect the plebs.
462	The tribune C. Terentillus Arsa demands a revision of the laws.
458	The dictator L. Quinctius Cincinnatus defeats the <i>Æquians</i> .
457	The number of tribunes of the plebs is increased to ten.
454	The bill of Terentillus Arsa is at length carried.
451	The first decemvirate.
450	The second decemvirate. Laws of the Twelve Tables.
449	Secession of the plebs to the <i>Mons Sacer</i> . Deposition of the decemvirs. Laws of Valerius and Horatius.

- a.c. 445 The tribune Canuleius carries a law establishing the *connubium* between patricians and plebeians.
 443 Institution of the censorship.
 440 Famine at Rome. Sp. Maelius assists the poor.
 439 Sp. Maelius murdered by Servilius Ahala.
 438 The first military tribunes instead of consuls.
 426 Fidenæ destroyed.
 396 Capture of Veii by Camillus after a siege of ten years.
 391 Camillus goes into exile. The Gauls besiege Clusium.
 390 Battle of the Allia. Rome taken and destroyed by the Gauls.
 384 M. Manlius Capitolinus condemned to death.
 383 The Pomptine district assigned to the plebeians.
 376 C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius bring forward their rogations.
 367 The Licinian rogations are passed after a struggle of nearly ten years.
 366 L. Sextius, the first plebeian consul. First appointment of a prætor.
 358 T. Manlius Torquatus defeats a gigantic Gaul on the Allia.
 356 The first plebeian dictator, C. Marcius Rutilus.
 351 The first plebeian censor.
 350 M. Valerius Corvus slays a Gallic chief by the aid of a raven.
 343-341 First war against the Samnites.
 340-338 War against the Latins. Self-sacrifice of P. Decius.
 339 The laws of Q. Publilius Philo.
 338 Final subjugation of Latium.
 337 The first plebeian prætor.
 328 Foundation of the colony of Fregellæ.
 326-304 Second war against the Samnites.
 322 Luceria in Apulia conquered by the Romans.
 321 Defeat of the Romans at Caudium. Afterwards they gain several victories.
 315 War declared against Rome by the Etruscans.
 314 Great success of the Romans against Samnium.
 312 The Appian road made.
 311 War with the Etruscans breaks out.
 309 The dictator L. Papirius Cursor defeats the Samnites.
 308 The Etruscan towns conclude peace.
 306 The Samnites defeated in all directions. Subjugation of the Hernicans.
 305 The Samnites, defeated at Bovianum, sue for peace. The Æquians rise, but are completely crushed.
 300 The colleges of augurs and pontiffs thrown open to the plebeians by the Ogulnian law.
 298-290 Third war against the Samnites. The Etruscans and Umbrians also rise again.
 295 The Romans recover all Lucania. Victory of the Romans at Sentinum in Umbria. Decius Mus.
 292 The Samnites totally defeated; their commander Pontius taken.
 290 Samnium, and soon after Etruria and Umbria, recognise the supremacy of Rome.
 285-282 War against the Gauls. Subjugation of the Senones and Boii.

- B.C. 282** The Romans relieve Thurii, which is besieged by the Lucanians
281 Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, lands in Italy.
280 The Romans defeated by Pyrrhus near Heracleia.
279 The Romans again defeated by Pyrrhus at Asculum.
278 Truce between the Romans and Pyrrhus, who goes to Sicily.
276 Pyrrhus returns to Italy.
275 Pyrrhus, defeated at Beneventum, abandons Italy.
273 Embassy of Ptolemy Philadelphus to Rome.
272 All southern Italy submits to Rome.
271 Rhegium also is recovered by the Romans.
268 Fourth and last war against the Samnites, lasts only one year.
264 The Romans ally themselves with the Mamertines of Mesana. Peace with Hiero.
264-241 The first Punic war.
262 Agrigentum besieged and taken by the Romans.
260 C. Duilius defeats the Carthaginians off Mylæ.
258 Atilius Calatinus carries on the war in Sicily.
256 The Carthaginians defeated off Ecnomus by M. Atilius Regulus, who sails with his fleet to Africa.
255 Success of Regulus in Africa, but he is afterwards defeated by Xanthippus and taken prisoner. Wreck of the Roman fleet on the coast of Sicily.
254 A new fleet is equipped, and Panormus taken.
252 The Roman fleet sails to Africa, but is wrecked on its return.
250 The Carthaginians defeated near Panormus. Regulus sent as ambassador to Rome. Siege of Lilybæum.
249 Defeat of Appius Claudius by land and sea.
247 Hamilcar undertakes the command of the Carthaginians.
242 The Romans build a new fleet.
241 C. Lutatius Catulus defeats the Carthaginians off the Ægates insulæ. Peace with Carthage. Sicily the first Roman province.
238 Sardinia and Corsica are taken from Carthage.
229 War against the Illyrian pirates. Agrarian law of C. Flaminius. Death of Hamilcar in Spain: he is succeeded by Hasdrubal.
228 Peace with the Illyrians.
226 The Gauls invade Etruria.
225 The Gauls defeated in the battle of Telamon.
224 Reduction of the Boii.
223 C. Flaminius conquers the Insubrians.
222 M. Claudius Marcellus, in the battle of Clastidium, brings the Gallic war to a close. Cremona and Placentia founded.
221 Assassination of Hasdrubal, who is succeeded by Hannibal.
219 Second war against the Illyrians, who are conquered by L. Æmilius Paulus. Capture of Saguntum.
218-202 The second Punic or the Hannibalian war.
218 The Romans defeated on the Ticinus and the Trebia. Cn. Cornelius Scipio goes to Spain.
217 Defeat of the Romans on Lake Trasimenus.
216 The Romans defeated at Cannæ.
215 Losses of Hannibal at Nola and Beneventum. Syracuse revolts from Rome. Treaty of Hannibal with Philip of Macedonia.

B. C.	
215-205	First war against Macedonia.
214-212	Siege and capture of Syracuse by M. Claudius Marcellus.
212	The two Scipios slain in battle in Spain.
211	The Romans conquer Capua. P. Cornelius Scipio goes to Spain.
210	Scipio takes Carthago Nova in Spain.
209	Tarentum recovered by the Romans. Hasdrubal defeated at Bæcula.
207	Hasdrubal goes to Italy, but is defeated and slain on the Metaurus.
205	P. Cornelius Scipio goes to Sicily.
204	Scipio crosses over into Africa.
203	Syphax taken prisoner.
202	Hannibal recalled to Africa, is defeated in the battle of Zama.
201	Peace with Carthage ratified at Rome.
200-197	Second war against Macedonia.
199-181	War against the Ligurians, Insubrians, and Boians.
198	T. Quinctius Flaminius undertakes the war against Macedonia.
197	Philip defeated in the battle of Cynoscephalæ. Peace between Macedonia and Rome.
196	Flaminius proclaims the independence of Greece.
192	Antiochus, invited by the Ætolians, crosses over into Europe.
191	Antiochus and the Ætolians defeated at Thermopylæ.
190	L. Cornelius Scipio crosses over into Asia, and defeats Antiochus in the battle of Magnesia. Peace concluded.
188	Peace with Antiochus ratified at Rome.
183	Death of Hannibal.
181-179	War in Spain brought to a close by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.
171-168	Third and last Macedonian war.
168	Battle of Pydna, in which Perseus is defeated. One thousand Achæans sent to Italy.
155	Greek philosophers expelled from Rome.
151	The surviving Achæans return to Greece.
149	Andriscus, a pretender to the throne of Macedonia.
149-146	The third and last Punic war.
148	Andriscus is defeated and slain by Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
148-140	Andriscus is defeated and slain by Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
147-146	War in Spain. Viriathus.
146	War against the Achæans.
	Destruction of Corinth, and subjection of Greece. Capture and destruction of Carthage.
143-133	War against the Celtiberians in Spain. Siege of Numantia.
141	Peace with Viriathus.
140	Viriathus murdered by hired assassins.
139	The Gabinian law, ordaining vote by ballot at the elections.
137	Final subjugation of the Lusitanians. C. Hostilius Mancinus concludes peace with the Numantines. The Cassian law, ordaining vote by ballot in the courts of law.
	Servile war in Sicily.
134-132	Numantia taken and destroyed. Attalus of Pergamus dies, bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people. Tribune
133	ship of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus : is murdered.
	War against Aristonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus
131-130	

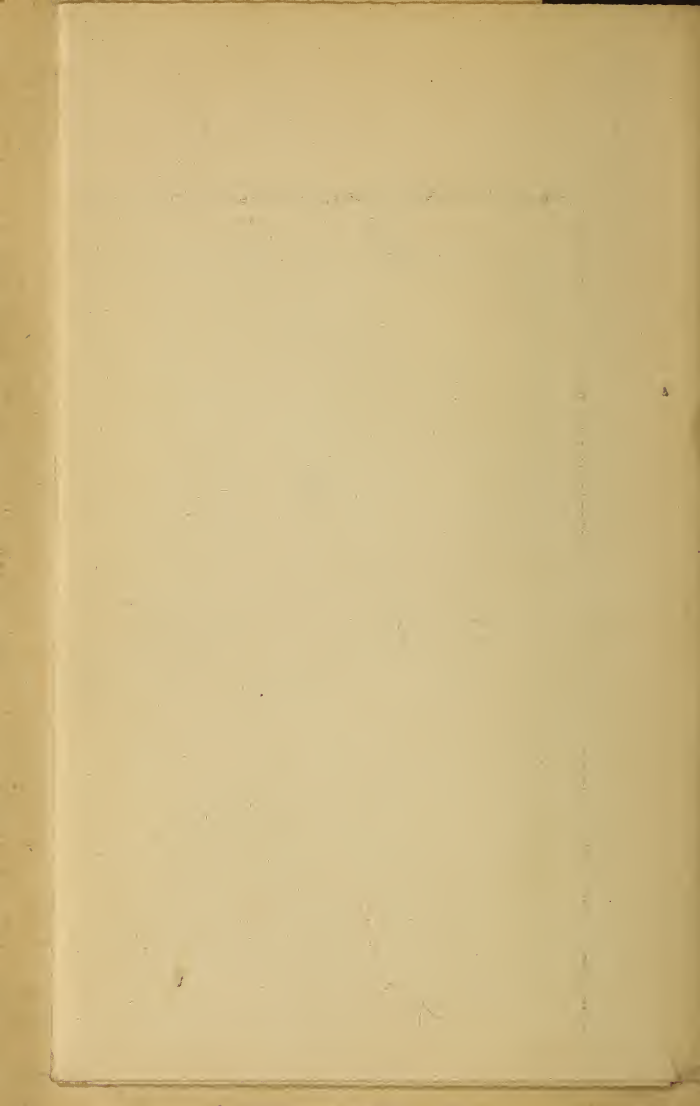
- B.C. 126** First conquests of the Romans in Gaul.
123 Tribuneship of C. Sempronius Gracchus.
122 Second tribuneship of C. Sempronius Gracchus.
121 Murder of C. Gracchus, and civil bloodshed at Rome.
113 The Cimbri and Teutones begin their migration westward.
111-106 The Jugurthine war.
109 Q. Cæcilius Metellus undertakes the command against Jugurtha. C. Marius.
107 First consulship of C. Marius, who succeeds Metellus in Africa.
106 Jugurtha taken prisoner by L. Cornelius Sulla. Birth of Cicero.
104 Marius appointed to conduct the war against the Cimbri and Teutones.
102 The Cimbri return from Spain, and are joined in Gaul by the Teutones. Battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, in which the Teutones are defeated.
102-99 Second servile war in Sicily.
101 The Cimbri defeated in the **Campi Raudii**.
100 C. Marius consul for the sixth time. The seditious tribune, L. Appuleius Saturninus, and his party besieged in the Capitol, and afterwards put to death.
91 The tribune M. Livius Drusus attempts to confer the franchise upon the Italian allies, but is murdered.
90-88 The Social or Marsic war.
90 The Lex Julia confers the franchise on the Latins.
88 The Etruscans and Umbrians obtain the franchise. End of the Social War.
88-84 First war against Mithridates. Civil war between Marius and Sulla. Marius flees to Africa.
87 Marius returns to Rome. Scenes of horror at Rome.
86 Siege and capture of Athens by Sulla. Marius dies in his seventh consulship.
84 Peace concluded with Mithridates.
83 Sulla returns to Italy, and is successful against his opponents.
83-81 Second war against Mithridates.
82 Capture of Præneste. Young Marius kills himself. Battle at the Colline gate. Q. Sertorius goes to Spain. Sulla enters Rome. First proscription. Sulla dictator. Political and legal reforms.
79 Sulla lays down his dictatorship, and withdraws to Puteoli.
79-72 War against Sertorius.
78 Death of Sulla. Commencement of the war against the pirates.
74-64 Third war against Mithridates.
74 Sertorius allies himself with Mithridates of Pontus.
73-71 Servile war in Italy. Spartacus.
73 Lucullus defeats Mithridates.
72 Murder of Sertorius at Osca.
71 The slaves defeated by M. Licinius Crassus.
70 Cn. Pompey consul. The political reforms of Sulla abolished.
69 Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates at Tigranocerta.
67 Cn. Pompey undertakes the war against the pirates. Lucullus recalled.
66 Cn. Pompey obtains the command against Mithridates.

- B.C. 65 Cn. Pompey pursues Mithridates into Albania and Iberia. J. Cæsar is curule ædile, and puts himself at the head of the popular party.
- 63 Mithridates, being conspired against by his own son, takes poison. Consulship of Cicero. Catilinarian conspiracy.
- 62 Cn. Pompey returns to Italy.
- 61 Cæsar as proprætor in Spain. P. Clodius.
- 59 J. Cæsar consul.
- 58 P. Clodius tribune. Cicero goes into exile. Cæsar proceeds to Gaul.
- 57 Cicero recalled.
- 55 Cæsar receives the administration of Gaul for five years more. He crosses the Rhine, and invades Britain.
- 54 Cæsar invades Britain a second time. Death of Julia, Cæsar's daughter.
- 53 Cæsar again crosses the Rhine. Crassus defeated in Syria.
- 52 General insurrection in Gaul. Fall of Alesia. Pompey for a time sole consul.
- 51 Cæsar returns to Cisalpine Gaul. Claudius Marcellus proposes measures against Cæsar.
- 50 Cæsar is called upon to disband his army.
- 49 Cæsar crosses the Rubicon. Pompey and his party flee from Italy. Cæsar in Spain. On his return he is made dictator.
- 48 Cæsar consul. Battle of Pharsalus.
- 47 Cæsar defeats Pharnaces of Pontus: crosses over into Africa.
- 46 Battle of Thapsus, in which the Pompeians in Africa are defeated. Cæsar reforms the calendar, and goes to Spain against the sons of Pompey.
- 45 Battle of Munda: the Pompeians defeated.
- 44 Cæsar murdered.
- 43 War of Mutina. The triumvirate between Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. Proscription. Death of Cicero.
- 42 Battles of Philippi.
- 41 War of Perusia.
- 40 Capture and destruction of Perusia. War with the Parthians.
- 39 Peace of Misenum with Sext. Pompeius.
- 38-36 War against Sext. Pompeius.
- 36 Sext. Pompeius defeated in the battle of Mylæ. Lepidus deposed. Antony sustains great loss against the Parthians.
- 34 Antony conquers Armenia, and gives it to Cleopatra.
- 32 War declared against the queen of Egypt.
- 31 Battle of Actium.
- 30 Death of Antony and Cleopatra.
- 29 Octavianus returns to Rome.
- 27 Octavianus receives the title of Augustus and Imperator. Division of the provinces. Augustus goes to Spain.
- 25-13 War against the Alpine tribes.
- 24 Augustus returns from Spain.
- 23 Augustus obtains the tribunician power for life.
- 20 The Parthians send back the Roman standards.
- 19 The Cantabri finally subdued by Agrippa.
- 16-13 Augustus in Gaul, to protect its eastern frontiers.

- B.C. 12** Death of Lepidus and Agrippa.
12-9 Drusus has the command against the Germans.
8-6 Tiberius succeeds Drusus against the Germans.
6 Domitius Ahenobarbus takes the command against the Germans.
5 or 4 Birth of Jesus Christ.
- A.D. 4** Tiberius resumes the war against the Germans.
5 Western Germany a Roman province.
6-9 War against the revolted Dalmatians and Pannonians.
9 Defeat of Varus.
14 Death of Augustus.
14-37 Reign of Tiberius.
14 Revolt of the legions in Germany and Pannonia.
16 Germanicus recalled from Germany.
19 Germanicus dies in Syria.
20 Ælius Seianus guides the counsels of Tiberius.
23 The *castra prætoria* established near Rome. Drusus, son of Tiberius poisoned.
26 Tiberius withdraws to Capræa.
31 Execution of Ælius Seianus.
33 Crucifixion of Jesus Christ.
37 Tiberius murdered by suffocation.
37-41 Reign of Caligula.
39 A conspiracy formed against Caligula.
41 Caligula murdered.
41-54 Reign of Claudius.
43 Commencement of permanent conquests in Britain.
50 Successful war against the Parthians.
51 The south-eastern part of Britain a Roman province.
54-68 Reign of Nero.
54 Corbulo drives the Parthians from Armenia.
61 Insurrection in Britain under Boadicea.
62 Nero banishes Octavia. Burrus put to death.
64 Great fire at Rome.
65 Seneca the philosopher and Lucan the poet put to death.
66 Tiridates recognised as king of Armenia.
67 Nero goes to Greece. Insurrection of the Jews. Vespasian conducts the war against them.
68-69 Servius Galba, is murdered.
69 Salvius Otho, defeated at Bedriacum, kills himself.
69 Vitellius, is murdered in the prætorian camp.
69-79 Vespasian. The siege of Jerusalem is left to Titus.
70 Vespasian arrives at Rome. Capture and destruction of Jerusalem. Insurrection of Claudius Civilis and the Batavi.
71 Petilius Cerealis, governor of Britain, is accompanied by Agricola.
74 Philosophers expelled from Rome.
77-85 Agricola governor of Britain.
79-81 Reign of Titus.
79 First recorded eruption of Vesuvius, and destruction of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabie.
80 Great fire at Rome. Completion of the Colosseum.
81-96 Reign of Domitian.
83 Domitian undertakes an expedition against the Chatti.

A.D. 84	Agricola defeats the Caledonians under Galgacus.
86	The Dacians make war against the Romans.
90	Domitian purchases peace of the Dacians.
96-98	Reign of Nerva.
98-117	Reign of Trajan.
100	Trajan sets out against the Dacians.
103	Peace with the Dacians.
104-106	Second Dacian war, at the end of which Dacia becomes a Roman province.
114	War against the Parthians.
115	Armenia a Roman province.
117-138	Reign of Hadrian; he makes the Euphrates the boundary in the East.
118	Hadrian returns to Rome from the East. War against the Sarmatians. A conspiracy against him suppressed.
120	Hadrian travels through the provinces of the empire.
131-136	War against the Jews.
138-161	Reign of Antoninus Pius. Peace throughout the empire.
161-180	Reign of M. Aurelius.
162	L. Verus goes to the East against the Parthians.
166	Peace concluded with the Parthians.
167	War against the Marcomanni and Quadi.
169	Death of L. Verus.
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